

NOVEMBER, 1911

*The*

PRICE TEN CENTS

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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*The Fighting Magazine  
of the Working Class*



AT THE BERLIN ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION, 100,000  
MEN VOTED FOR PEACE.

# What Debs Says

## ABOUT OUR THREE NEW PROPAGANDA BOOKS

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A splendid pamphlet is INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM, written jointly by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, and which I heartily commend to the working class and to all who are interested in Socialism and in the group of vital questions which have sprung from our modern industrial development. Every page of this pamphlet is clear, cogent, and convincing. The true revolutionary attitude of the working class movement is here maintained. It states the industrial and political position of the workers in plain, straightforward terms, in their own language, and is well calculated to open the eyes of the workers to the weakness of craft unionism and political socialism, and impress upon them the necessity of proletarian solidarity, both economic and political, and supplementary to each other, as the true basis of the revolutionary movement. The pamphlet is especially adapted to the educational propaganda of the working class and ought to be spread broadcast among the workers.

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EUGENE V. DEBS

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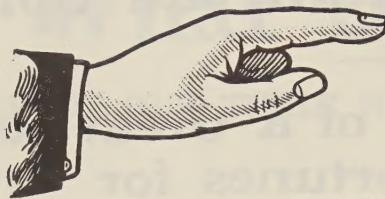
Take, for example, Fort George, B. C. Eighteen months ago lots which are now worth \$1,500 to \$2,000 were sold for only \$100 to \$150. Prince Rupert, B. C., lots which could not be bought today for anything like \$1,000 to \$3,000 were snapped up two years ago by keen men and women for only \$200 to \$500.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,  
Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn, William D. Haywood

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# PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

**Your Review Comes by Freight.**—In September Postmaster-General Hitchcock established a new rule by which magazines will for the most part be carried in freight cars instead of mail cars. This makes a delay of from two to ten days in the delivery of copies of the REVIEW which are mailed long distances. Our readers are requested to keep this in mind and to wait some time before complaining if the REVIEW does not arrive as early as expected.

**We Want to Enlarge.**—We are already giving far more reading matter and pictures for a dollar a year than any other Socialist magazine in the world. But we want to enlarge again. With your help we can do so. What we need to make the enlargement possible is twenty thousand new yearly subscriptions at the full price of one dollar each. Our actual circulation for the last nine months has averaged 40,—500 monthly, and nearly every copy has been sold, but most of them in bundles at reduced prices. If one-half of those who will read this month's REVIEW would at once send in \$1.00 each for a year's subscription, we could enlarge at once. Are you with us?

## THREE NEW BOOKS.

**The Militant Proletariat**, by Austin Lewis, is the most important contribution to Socialist theory that has yet been produced by any American writer. The scientific basis of the tactics which the REVIEW has long advocated is in this book set forth logically, clearly and forcibly. Every Socialist speaker and writer, whether he is in sympathy with us or with our opportunist opponents, will need to read THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT in order to defend his own position intelligently. Take our word for it; this is a book that you should not miss if you have any interest in the work of the Socialist Party. Cloth, 50 cents,

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"To that sorely betrayed and somewhat bedraggled goddess, 'Liberty,' with whom, however, Puritanism has prevented the author's personal acquaintance, this little book is affectionately inscribed." Its chapters are:

- I. What Is Morality?
- II. Class Systems of Morality.
- III. The Origin of Puritanism.
- IV. The Decadence of Puritanism.
- V. Puritanism and Asceticism.
- VI. Puritanism and the Proletariat.
- VII. Abstract Morality.

One of the greatest obstacles to the growth of revolutionary socialism is the fact that millions of working people meekly accept the standards of conduct which are handed down to them by preachers, teachers and editors in the pay of the capitalist class. Comrade Meily's book will prove a help and a stimulus to clear thinking on the part of wage-workers, and should do a world of good. Cloth, 50 cents, postpaid. Ready December 10. Advance orders solicited.

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As our capital for bringing out new books is limited, it will be an important help if you will remit the price of any or all of these books at once. In this way you will be sure to receive them immediately upon publication.

*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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NOVEMBER, 1911

No. 5

# THE WORLD-WIDE REVOLT

By MARY E. MARCY

Illustrated with Photographs by Paul Thompson

**F**ROM all over the world come reports of strikes, rebellions and attempted revolutions. There are wars and rumors of war. There are wars upon war. Hunger riots are common occurrences in Spain, France and Austria. The splendid battle of the British working-men in their recent victory is still making hope in our hearts. In parts of France, Austria and Spain martial law has been declared. In Portugal the forces of democracy and socialism are warring against Privilege and Reaction.

Terrorism is abroad once more in Russia with its massacres, its persecutions and its assassinations. China is struggling to put down the last rebellion. Mexico is seething with revolt as never before. The press in Norway is recommending the disbanding of the Norwegian army because of the GROWTH of SOCIALIST sentiment in its ranks. Thrones are trembling and the fear of panics is in the air!

"What does it all mean? What is going to happen? Are we on the verge of some great step of progress, or are we approaching a time of anarchy?" demands one of the eastern newspapers.

And it is the socialist who is able to reply and to point out the CLASS STRUGGLE growing fiercer and clearer every day.

Every improvement in the machinery of production leaves more men and women out of work and more profits for capitalists. But beside the normal increasing development of Capitalism there has been for the past ten years a constant DECREASE in the wages of the proletariat. This leaves still more surplus value, or profit for the capitalist.

The DECREASE in wages is only apparent in the increased cost of living. When twenty dollars decreases in value 50 per cent it will only buy half as many potatoes. Remember that prices have risen because your

dollars are worth only half as much as formerly.

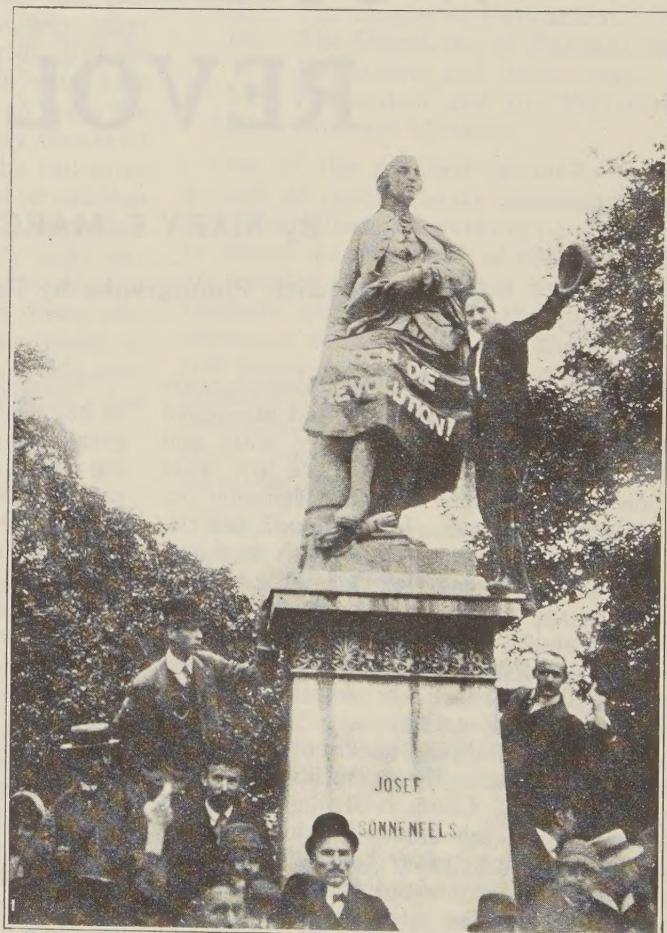
And so everywhere the men who toil and the women who work are being more pitilessly pinched by poverty. We do not realize that we are now being paid virtually in MEXICAN (half value) dollars and in a frenzy of misery and despair we are rising in hunger riots, rent rebellions, strikes for higher wages and embryonic revolutions.

Every day the capitalist is able to appropriate more of the value you or I have made. He is getting richer. Every day as the value of gold decreases your wages are being automatically reduced. You can usually tell when a dollar falls in value when it BUYS less today than it bought yesterday. Watch the capitalists scurrying about to find ways and means for prolonging their power and your misery. Watch the government's attempt to regulate prices BY STATE LAW in the face of economic law. You will see them enacting statutes for a minimum wage and the value of that wage soon falling below the growing cost of living. And you will see human misery, working class hunger, finding the way out in the mighty revolution that will forever abolish wage slavery and modern capitalism.

**IN VIENNA:** Vienna has been the scene of demonstrations of an almost revolutionary character the past month. The police and military were called out and killed many persons. These sanguinary scenes usually followed socialist mass meetings combined with the public demonstrations against the high cost of living. Such cries as "Away with Capital," "Down with the Government," and "Hurrah for the Revolution," interrupted the twenty or more speakers who addressed the crowds. At one of the evening meetings when the Hussars and Dragoons threat-

ened to make the encounter a bloody one, the workers turned off the city lights and brought calm. The socialists are doing much for the work of organization. They say nothing on earth could have prevented the riots, which they called "Demonstrations of despair."

"Hunger Riots" are raging all over France, caused by the despair of the workers at their inability to meet the advancing cost of food and high rents. The government had become alarmed and decided to establish municipal slaughter houses and meat markets as well as municipal bakeries to combat the rising prices. But at the first official meeting for the consideration of these measures the trades people appeared in swarms with their lawyers to



HOCH DIE REVOLUTION!  
THE COST OF LIVING REVOLT—VIENNA.

point out legal obstacles and professional experts to prove the impracticability of such undertakings.

Everywhere the military were called out to beat back the starving workers who sometimes made savage raids upon the stalls in the markets. Later the men stretched wires across the streets so that when the cavalry dashed into the scene of the trouble their horses were thrown. Banners borne by the strikers bear such illuminating words as these: "We will not pay rent while we have no bread," "Death to landlords," "Down with Capital" and "Hurrah for the Revolution!"

It will be remembered that the General Confederation de Travail voted unanimously for a general strike in case France became embroiled in a war with Germany over Morocco.

Socialists and syndicalists in Italy have been carrying on an incessant anti-war crusade during the late talk of war and the invasion of Turkey. Many of the socialists and unionists declared in favor of a general strike in case war was declared. But the anti-war propaganda had not been carried on long enough to defeat the government. At last reports over 2,000 anti-militarists had been thrown into jail and armed troops were dispersing hostile crowds. Between Anconia and Forli, telegraph poles were thrown across the tracks; tracks were torn up and women threw themselves in front of the trains that transported the reservists to the military stations. But the anti-militarists are keeping at it. They are redoubling their crusade for they recognize the fact that militarism is being fostered and cultivated almost for the sole purpose of keeping down the rebelling wage slaves.

And apropos of anti-militarism, an Englishman recently paid a visit to Morocco. While

there he had the pleasure of an audience before one of the most distinguished Sheiks of the realm, who had traveled extensively and who spoke many languages. The Englishman was amazed when the venerable Moor asked concerning the growth of socialism in Germany and the anti-militarist movement in France.

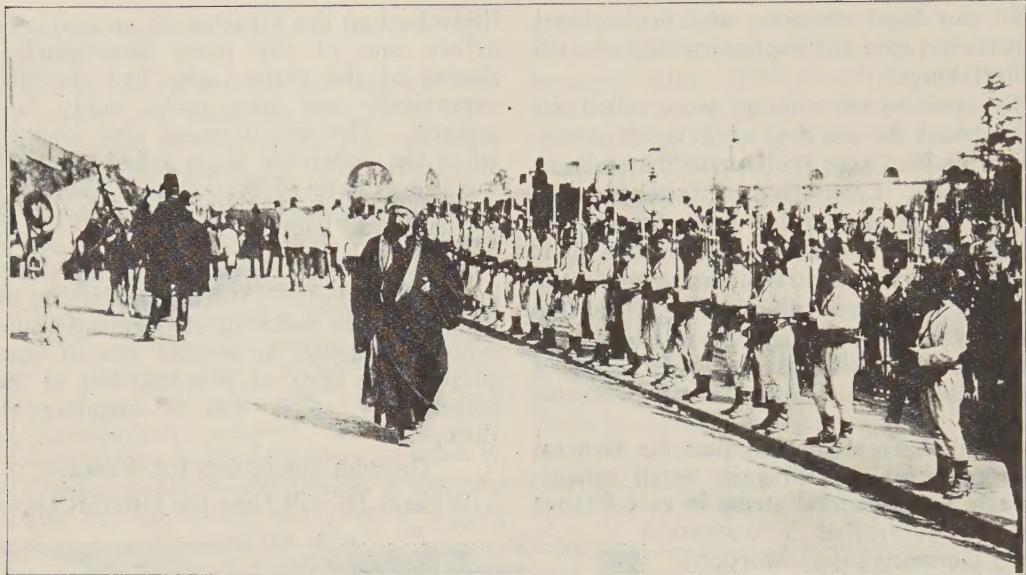
"It is my belief," he said, "that the workingmen of England, the anti-militarists of France and the socialists of Germany would refuse to engage in another war of conquest. The hope of Morocco lies in the anti-military spirit that is invading all Europe."

#### **German Socialists for Peace.**

William II will have the bitterest oppo-



"TENANTS WHO PAY THEIR LANDLORDS AND LEAVE THEIR CHILDREN WITHOUT BREAD ARE COWARDS."—FRANCE.



TURKISH TROOPS BEING INSPECTED.

sition of the socialists and anti-militarists in case he embarks on a campaign against England and France over Morocco. August Bebel and the German socialists held a great anti-war meeting recently to announce their attitude toward war and to make known their determination to have nothing to do with it. Said Bebel :

"It is the duty of the proletariat to secure the maintenance of peace and to expose the folly of those without conscience who are trying to represent the people of Germany as approving war. The government takes no action in the matter. The people themselves will take action."

Forward, comrades! War to those who



TRANSPORTING TURKISH ARTILLERY.



SPANISH CAVALRY DRAWN UP FOR DUTY.

exploit and would fool the working class. At the vast mass meeting held in Treptow Park, Berlin, a vote by a show of over 100,000 hands was passed condemning war.

Lord Claud Hamilton, M. P., chairman of the Great Eastern Railway Company of England, has lately been conferring with the Royal Commission. He declared that once the unions, imbued as they now are with a spirit of rebellion, got control of the railways, they would execute their inflammatory designs of rousing the people into confiscating the railroads. "In such an event," he said, "they would wield a power which even Parliament itself would be unable to contend with."

The Revolutionary Socialists today possess the greatest opportunity ever known in the history of the labor movement. They know the drift of events and how best to use the current to the ultimate victory of the international working class. Strenuous days are coming and the great need of the hour and of every hour is education and organization.

If we are prepared to meet the tide of events with a well drilled army of working men and women who KNOW WHAT THEY WANT and HOW TO GET IT, if we are big enough to demand and to take much in the days of terror that are coming instead of snapping up reform sops, there is no height to which the proletariat cannot attain during this period of storm and stress.

Let us put on our armor. Let us remember that the literature of socialism is our greatest ammunition. Let us keep at it all the time. The greatest achievement any working man or woman can accomplish today is the making of another INTELLIGENT REVOLUTIONIST.

Let us be prepared for the coming opportunity. So that when thrones are tumbling and dynasties are at an end, when Capitalism seeks to inaugurate a reign of terror, of blood and massacre to uphold her dying power, the calm-eyed proletariat shall be ready to take control of industry and to bring order out of chaos, and joy and peace and freedom to the toilers of the world.



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# THE WORKER'S SHARE

BY

T. EDWIN SMITH

IN THE WESTERN CLARION

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THE capitalist hires a man when he sees a chance to make a profit off his work and turns back to the man enough of his product in the form of wages to enable him to come back the next day and produce some more. He also pays him enough to enable the man to reproduce himself when he is worn out. The workers' food in his eyes is exactly the same as the gasoline or the coal that he gives his engine. The workers' children are the same as the sinking fund that he provides to buy new machinery when the old is worn out.

In another respect the worker is like a machine. As soon as a piece of machinery wears out or gets smashed in an accident the capitalist throws it aside and buys new. As soon as the worker gets too old to do the fast work required by the employer or is injured in an accident so that he will be no good he is discharged and left to look after himself.

You are a living, breathing human being with hopes, desires and aspirations. Yet you are treated like a mass of iron and brass. You have higher feelings that you must satisfy. You can love and hate. You can feel pleasure and suffer pain. Yet the present capitalistic system condemns you to the scrap-heap with a thing of insensate stone or wood.

A man is greater than anything his hands have made, therefore we say he is greater than any block of granite or piece of steel.

A wage slave in his economic relations is very much in the same boat with a horse. You know that if one of you owns a horse or hires one, that the horse must make

enough from his work to pay for the hire of him or the cost of reproduction, his feed and care, as well as leave a profit for yourself, or you will not keep it. It is exactly the same with yourself.

The boss treats you just like you treat your horses. You must pay back from the work you do your wages, your share of running the plant and earn a profit over and above all this for him. All that you earn over and above your wages and a proportionate share of the running expenses is called surplus value, and this surplus value goes to make your master rich, instead of keeping you when you are not working as it should do.

Sometimes a horse will produce surplus value for you even when you do not hire him. Suppose you are digging a ditch by contract and get twenty cents per yard for doing it. When using a shovel and wheelbarrow you can move ten yards a day. Then you get \$2 for a hard day's work.

You think up a scheme to beat this, so you buy a team of horses, harness and a scraper at a cost of, say, \$400. The team, harness and scraper, you see, is worth about 13 cents a day. That is, there will be about ten years' work in the horses or 3,000 days. This 3,000 days is worth \$400 or 13 cents a day. When the horses are worn out they have added that much to the value of the work they have done. It will cost you about 60 cents a day to feed them, so the total expenses are 73 cents a day.

With the aid of the team the man can move eighty yards of earth in a day and earn \$16, or \$13.27 per day more than he did before. The horses enable him to earn

## T. EDWIN SMITH

this extra money, but they do not get it. All the horses earn above their feed and cost is surplus value and goes to the master.

It is the same with yourself. You must earn your own wages, your cost and all other expenses connected with your job and a whole lot more. All this that is above your wages and your share of the running expenses is the surplus value of your labor and it goes to your master.

Your wage may be \$2 a day, your share of the necessary expenses 50 cents, then all you make that is over \$2.50 a day is surplus and goes to the owner of the factory to enable him to live in a fine house while you live in a hovel. If the product of your labor is \$10 a day, the surplus value your labor creates is equal to \$7.50.

In this respect you are treated like a horse, but in every other way the horse has the better of you. If your horse gets sick you put him in a stall, feed him, doctor him and let him rest until he is able to go to work again. If you get sick your employer turns you out to feed yourself, doctor yourself, and then take chances of getting your old job back again when you are able to work.

When a horse gets too old to do anything the master turns him out to graze in a pasture for the rest of his life or else mercifully puts him to death in the easiest and quickest way. When you get too old to work your master turns you out to die of starvation. If you try to kill yourself in some easier way, he calls it a crime and will put you in jail for it. I would rather be a horse myself.

You think you all deserve something better than that. You do if you try to get something better. If you wish to merely drift with the current and let matters take their course, if you are willing to be the supine slave of your capitalistic master, if you are content to be the equal of a stone, you deserve what you get. If you are struggling to make your conditions better you

deserve to have them better. If you have the courage to stand out against the robbery you will find thousands to stand out with you.

Today we have social production. That is, in the making of any article, no matter how small, there is employed some part of the productive power of every worker in the world. Along with social production we have class ownership. That is, the men who own the factories, as a rule, do not have anything to do with running them or even managing them, while the men who do the work, as a rule, do not have even a small share in the factories in which they work.

The capitalists have carried human development to a higher plane than it was when they found it, but they have gone now as far as they can. The capitalistic system has done its share. Now the workers must carry it one step further until the men who work will collectively own what they collectively use, and they will then enjoy the good things that their labor creates."

Remember, you wage workers, that nobody is going to hand you freedom upon a silver salver. The capitalist class will never step down and abdicate. Leaders can never be trusted to lead you to economic independence. It is your own task. You must free yourselves.

Already there are millions of wage working men and women who are working for emancipation. They may be found in the Socialist Party and in the INDUSTRIAL UNION. Hunt them up. Join them and then—above all else READ THE LITERATURE of SOCIALISM. Get a few books, pamphlets and UNDERSTAND the aims, and methods of the revolutionary army.

Write to Charles H. Kerr & Co., publishers of this magazine and ask for suggestions on industrial union and socialist books. You NEED TO KNOW before you can successfully help yourselves.



# SWITCHED OFF THE MAIN LINE

By

PHILLIPS RUSSELL



**O**N the last of September, the long-delayed strike of the System Federation among the shopmen of the Harriman lines took place, extending from the middle west to the Gulf in the south and taking in all that territory westward to the Pacific ocean.

The System Federation comprises the shopmen of ten different organizations, the principal ones being the International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Association of Sheet Metal Workers, the steamfitters, clerks, painters, engine hostlers and members of the Federal Labor Union. The first five mentioned are the leading organizations involved. The international presidents of these unions, having had many conferences with Vice-President Kruttschnitt of the Harriman lines, finally called the strike on three lines, these lines being the Illinois Central, the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific lines.

The union officials claimed that 25,000 men came out. The railroad heads asserted there were only a few thousand at most.

In this strike there are just two questions with which the men in the ranks need concern themselves, and these are —hours and wages. The matter of recognition early in the fight was made the most of, but of all the issues involved, this was the most insignificant. However, the Federation heads insisted on making recognition the leading demand and pushing the first two fundamentals into the background.

Of all the questions at issue, that pertaining to the hours of labor is supreme. Men on strike can afford to make the matter of wages a secondary issue. It is the hours that count, for it cannot be too often repeated that shorter hours invariably mean higher wages.

Several thousand unorganized workers followed the union men out, and having been given the impression that the revolt was for an eight hour day and bet-

ter conditions, they were eager for the fight.

But on learning that the question of hours and conditions was not going to figure in the struggle, and on hearing the incessant chant of the Federation heads that they asked only recognition for the Federation, the unorganized men soon lost interest and began to drift back into the shops.

Many of these men were foreigners and not residents of this country long enough to become "eligible" for union membership. The result was that they went back to work, bitter against those who had misled them and disgusted with the tactics that forced an enthusiastic striker into becoming resentful enough to become a scab.

Among the most eager and determined strikers were those of the Burnside shop of the Illinois Central, which is just outside Chicago. Crowded shop meetings were held nearly every day. Finally an organization of preachers affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor, saw a chance to get into the affair.

Militant workers who in times past have allowed brethren of the cloth to butt into strikes have in most cases had reason to regret it. A strike is a battle in the continuous war between capital and labor. Preachers and priests have no place in the midst of it. The time for prayer is before or after. Headed by the Rev. C. H. Doolittle, a working machinist, and J. D. Buckalew, District President of the International Association of Machinists, these gentry worked up a mass meet-

ing of Illinois Central strikers by means of pink circulars whose wording was as follows:

**AT LAST!**

**AT LAST! AT LAST!**

The Key has been discovered whereby the great problems of the day may be properly adjusted to the satisfaction of all.

That our coming generation may live and let live in happiness and enjoyment of all the blessings that this country affords; to that end a monster

#### GOSPEL MASS MEETING

of the men and clergy of the Church and the Federation of working men will be held at TURNER HALL, 75th street and Dobson avenue,

SUNDAY, OCT 8TH, 2:30 P. M.

Invocation of God's Blessing—Rev. Dr. Worrell, of the Brookline Presbyterian Church.

Scripture Reading—Rev. Dr. Buck, of Lormer Memorial Baptist Church.

Rev. A. E. Wright will pronounce the benediction.

Rev. C. H. Doolittle will deliver the message.

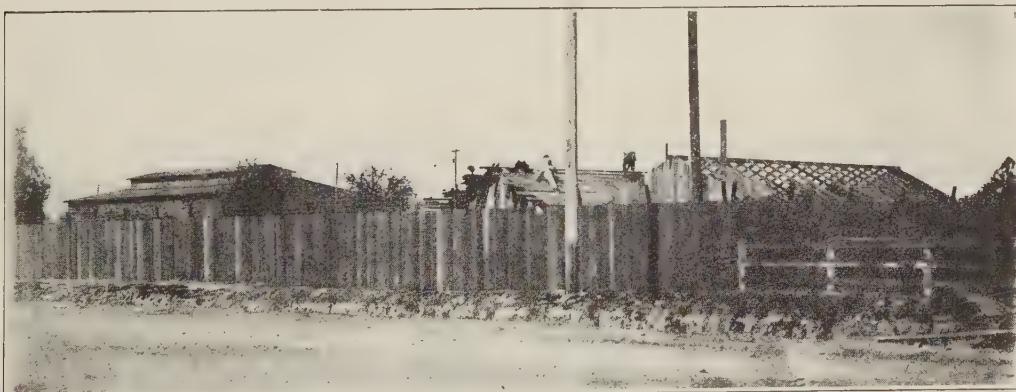
Special music will be furnished. All free. No collection will be taken.

**COMMITTEE OF FOURTEEN,**  
Representing the Clergy and Workingmen's Federation.

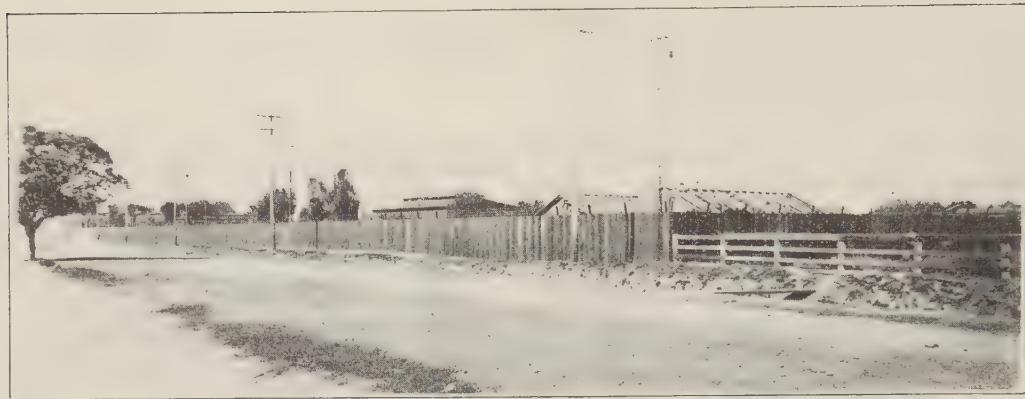
J. D. BUCKALEW, Moderator.  
C. H. DOOLITTLE, Chairman.

The meeting was pulled off on Sunday afternoon in Grand Crossing, Turner Hall, Chicago. About 19 religious leaders took part. It was a sort of combined revival and prayer meeting, the speakers holding forth like old-time "exhorters."

The principal result of this exhibition



STOCKADES AT FRESNO.



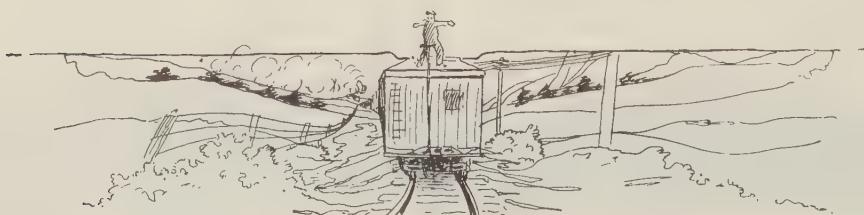
was the stirring up of religious prejudice and over 100 Catholic strikers were so offended that they went back to work the next day.

The strike was mismanaged from the beginning. In the first place it was delayed so long that the railroads had ample time to secure scabs in the eastern cities and hurry them west. Huge stockades were erected at several cities in California and these bull-pens were packed full of strike-breakers.

In Los Angeles, union men helped to complete the stockade, which was built expressly to house scabs! The construction was done mostly by non-union carpenters, but the wiring for lights, etc., was done by members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Most cruel of all is the fact that the railroad brotherhoods obediently hauled carloads of scabs to various points and delivered them where they were to break the strike of their own brothers in the shops. Railroad men thus furnished scabs for the company while ostensibly lending their "moral support" to the strikers.

Almost the only encouraging feature of the strike was the news from California that many Mexican and Chinese laborers, though despised and unorganized, were prompt to strike with their American brethren. In comparison with this notable exhibition of class consciousness the action of the railroad "brotherhoods" in staying at work is too contemptible for words.



# WHY THE SANTA FE RAILROAD SENT ONE MAN TO PRISON

---

**O**N OCTOBER 30, 1903, a wreck of one of the Santa Fe passenger trains occurred. We are told that many persons were injured and killed and prompt suits for damages against the railway company were instituted. As long as the blame for the accident could be laid at the door of the company there was danger of its having to pay out thousands of dollars in damages. And so the company produced a "goat."

Now every proletarian knows what a "goat" is. He is the man who takes the blame without deserving it. He is the man who suffers for the crimes of another, or the man at whose expense somebody else or some corporation rises to greater financial heights.

John Devine, a hobo, was convicted of wrecking the Santa Fe train. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in the penitentiary. From the day of his incarceration until the time of his death, six years later, we believe, he never spoke one word. He was known as "the silent prisoner."

And then, the story runs, a man dying in another state confessed to knowledge that positively exonerated Devine of any complicity in the accident whatsoever.

It seems that the State Board of Pardons of Colorado wrote to Thomas R. Hoffmire, attorney for the Santa Fe Railroad, asking whether there was any possible doubt of the guilt of the tramp, who had already served several years in the penitentiary. We give below a copy of Mr. Hoffmire's letter, which, we believe, outrivals anything for diabolical capitalist cold-bloodedness in the whole annals of modern industry:

Thos. R. Hoffmire, Lawyer, Opera House Block, Pueblo, Colo.

July 27.

Mr. Wm. Thoms,  
Secy. State Board of Pardons,  
Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 24th of July at hand and contents noted. At the time I was quite familiar with all the facts and circumstances con-

nected with the wrecking of Santa Fe passenger train No. 6, October 30, 1903, as I was specially employed by the company to take charge of the case and to prosecute John Devine, who was convicted and given a life sentence in the penitentiary.

You ask for my advice upon the certainty of John Devine having committed the crime and I must be frank and tell you that I am not certain, nor have I ever been, that a crime was ever committed by any one in connection with this wreck. I prosecuted the case upon the *evidence furnished by the special agents of the company* (the italics are ours) and as public sentiment was very much aroused against the defendant, it was not much effort to obtain a conviction. Devine was a typical but inoffensive hobo and seemed to think that as far as his personal comfort was concerned the penitentiary would be about the best place for him. There are a great many circumstances from a moral point of view that would raise a very serious doubt as to the defendant's guilt (the italics are ours), or even as to the corpus delicti.

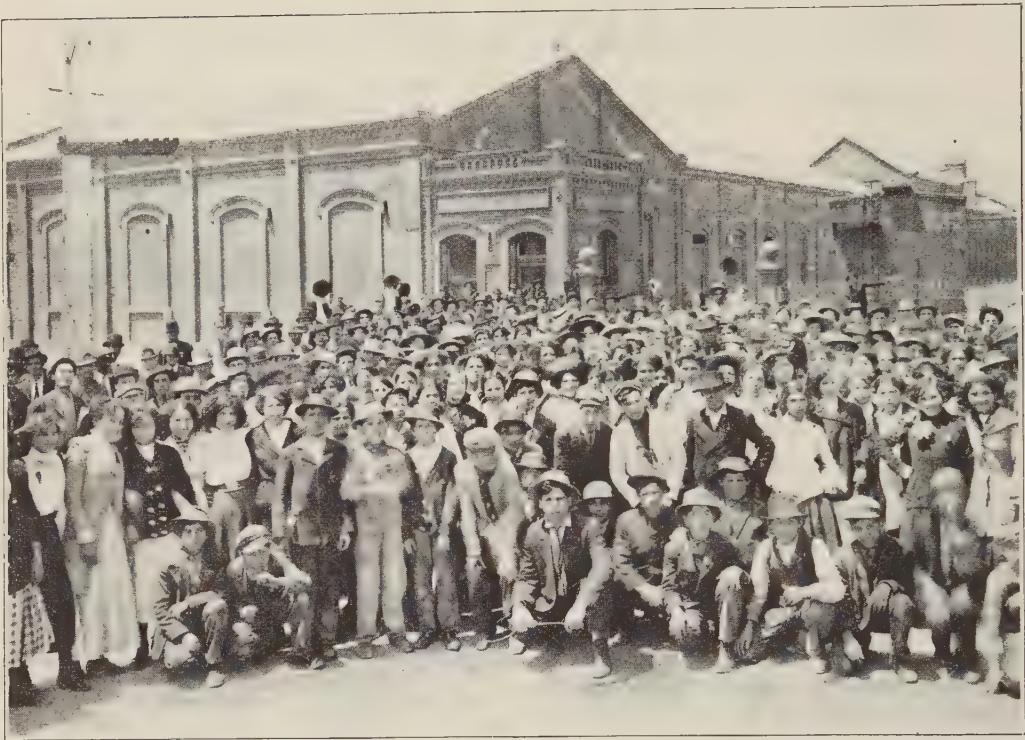
I might say in conclusion that *the conviction of Devine saved the Santa Fe Railway Company a great many thousands of dollars as several damage suits had been instituted against the company by those who were injured in the wreck.* (Again italics are our own.)

Very respectfully,  
(Signed) THOMAS R. HOFFMIRE.

John Devine died inside the prison walls.

In the wonderful days a-coming future generations will read the history of capitalist society with horror and amazement. They will refer to the twentieth century as the Diabolical Age of PROFITS. They will marvel that men could sink so low as to send innocent unfortunates to life-long imprisonment for the sake of a few filthy dollars.

But by whatever Gods there be or may not be, a day of reckoning is coming and coming fast. Let not those professional prostitutes marvel when the fury of the deceived, the starved and suffering working class is aroused at last! The death of John Devine shall be avenged.



COTTON MILL STRIKERS—CALIFORNIA.

## THE DRIFT IN CALIFORNIA

BY

AUSTIN LEWIS

“**T**HE direct results of the activities of the unskilled proletarians may seem unimportant, nevertheless it is these activities that bring about the moral regeneration of this division of the working class,” says Kautsky, in somewhat patronizing terms, which, however, state but a small part of the actual truth. As a matter of fact, the activities of the unskilled proletariat never seem unimportant to the student of industrial movements, and the moral regeneration proceeding from them is by no means confined to their own section of the proletariat. To these movements are due all that is fresh, vigorous and strong in the labor movement.

This arises from a variety of causes, economic and otherwise, not the least being the fact that the great, rich and powerful trades unions tend naturally to become conservatives and static, finally, indeed, reactionary, and part of “the system” itself. Under such circumstances an “uprush from below,” as Ben Tillett described the last English demonstrations of the unskilled proletariat, becomes not only healthy, but necessary. It tends to put that zest into the fight which disappears so ignominiously in face of the sordid bargainings that mark an established trade union organization, as part of the capitalistic arrangement.

California, though by no means an industrial community, has for some time been

in the throes of labor conflicts. These have produced distinct types. The result is that a perspective of the present labor struggle can be had in California perhaps more completely than elsewhere. Rich conservative unionism is in San Francisco; militaristic (in the sense of being organized from above), scrapping unionism is also well represented in the same city. The word "scrapping" is used advisedly for seldom does the aggressive element rise to the dignity of an actual fighting body, so that the struggles attendant upon the existing state of the labor fight are for the most part insignificant and uninspiring.

An example of what is meant in the latter connection appears from recent occurrences in Oakland. There has been a strike in the mills of the Sunset Lumber Company which has employed armed scabs. The armed scabs were allowed to parade the streets of the city upon the ground that the constitution gave them the right to bear arms. This went on for some time until some half dozen or more union men were shot. Then the union decided to arm its representatives. It did so. Thereupon much public indignation and the scrapping union agreed to lay down its arms upon condition that the scabs laid down theirs. Some sixteen policemen were next detailed to protect the scab wagons and the Sunset Lumber Company gets its protection for nothing out of pocket; at least, that is how it appears. Such are the tactics of the scrapping unions, the chronicles of which would make many disgusting volumes.

Several manifestations of movement on the part of the unskilled proletariat have occurred during the past year in this state. A restless spirit has pervaded the masses who have hitherto been neglected by the American Federation of Labor. Men began to respond to the I. W. W. teachings, or to put it more correctly, the I. W. W. began to interpret the mind of the unskilled and nomadic laborers. Such practised observers of labor phenomena as Andrew Furuseth and O. A. Tveitmoe sensed conditions and issued their famous call for the organization of the "Migratory laborers," which was followed by the formation of the "United Laborers." It is worth noting that both of the proponents of this notion are engaged in the California movement.

There arose, however, almost spontan-

cously, an organization of Mexican unskilled laborers, in Los Angeles. They came into being as the result of a street labor demonstration in that city last November and were subsequently marshaled in the United Laborers. They do not seem, however, to flourish in the A. F. of L. for reasons which will hereafter appear, and it may be noted in passing, that those responsible for the formation of the union were not members of the A. F. of L.

The point worth noticing, however, is that this unskilled union was practically the first movement of a particularly abject part of the population of a notoriously scab town. The movement has, however, not spread to any extent in the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. making a more direct appeal to the particular element and eliciting a more ready response.

For reasons which appear more fully in my pamphlet, "*Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois*," I am inclined to think that the A. F. of L. cannot serve as a rallying ground for the migratory laborers and that such as are organized in the A. F. of L. may be used for factional rather than general ends. Already there is a complaint that Greeks enrolled in the United Laborers are scabbing on rates in the raisin fields in Fresno, and that they are actually volunteering to work more cheaply than the Japanese. In view of the active steps being taken by the I. W. W. to organize the nomadic laborers in farm and camp, the existence of the United Laborers may be regarded almost as a menace. The conditions in the Southern lumber mills where there is some fear that the A. F. of L. may supply the laborers which the I. W. W. refuses are in point, and the experience may readily be duplicated in California.

In fact the tendency undoubtedly inclines that way. Recently Italians who were employed in propagating I. W. W. views in San Francisco and in organizing the French and Italian bakers as industrialists were beaten by the police. Some reason must have existed for an act so unusual in San Francisco. The Italian colony was soon ablaze with indignation and such amends were made as could be made under the circumstances. Industrial organization was probably the source of the trouble, and with the advance of that form of organization among the Latin peoples there will probably

arise a series of clashes between the two forms of organization. It would be much better all round and tend more to the steady advance of the labor movement if this friction could be avoided, but, as far as this state is concerned, present appearances seem to indicate that the A. F. of L. will not welcome any other organization and a sulky acquiescence in its existence is the best that can be expected.

Another sudden "uprush from below" was that of the child and women employees of the California Cotton Mills. This strike was as much a surprise to the labor world as to the employers. The extreme youth of many of the workers came as an unwelcome shock to some even of the middle class who, living in a state where it is uncommon, have a humane dislike of child labor. Even on this occasion the two economic working class organizations made themselves felt and both the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. took part in the struggle. This culminated in the defeat of the workers. The children were really defeated by their own parents, whose cupidity was seconded by the pressure of the capitalist and the persuasion of the

priest. Actual want moreover in many cases compelled surrender and as there was no means of sustaining the strikers, abandonment of the struggle became necessary.

This manifestation while by no means of first-class importance is interesting as showing a spontaneous movement on the part of a portion of the population which has been most slow to respond to stimulus, the Portuguese. Many of the children have come here via the Hawaiian Islands and have practically been reared in the slavery system.

The above are only straws showing the trend of the current, and by no means display the great mass of work which is being accomplished in the organization of the unskilled. The work of the I. W. W. in the Sacramento Valley alone among the up-to-now hopeless farm laborers is worthy of an article, while the personal adventures of individual organizers in this field make some of the most fascinating stories.

N. B.—In view of the upshot of the Mexican revolution this picture of the Mexican unionists is exceptionally interesting.



MEXICAN UNIONISTS.

Top row beginning right: (1) Antonio Villareal, (3) Austin Lewis, (4) Juan Ramirez, Organizer of United Laborers. Fourth row back in the middle, the President and Secretary.



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

BY

FRANK BOHN

**A** NATION governed by its profit seekers is a nation accursed. Such a one cannot produce a civilization. It has what "art" it buys. It develops whatever science it needs in its business. Its temples are filled with money changers. Its common schools are devoted to turning out wealth producers. Its higher institutions of learning are supposed to furnish such information as each of the profit grabbers thinks his son or daughter requires in order to hold and increase his or her "fortune."

A shopkeepers' society, from the very nature of its life and form, must develop large cities. In Europe two influences have worked to make these great modern urban communities civilized at least in their outward aspects. By far the most important of these has been the fact that the mediæval towns, the progenitors of the modern cities, were ruled by their guilds. The government of the mediæval town was an entity. It had an existence apart from the overshadowing power of the monarchical state. This freedom from interference, with its resultant social responsibility, formed the basis for the political governments of the cities of modern Europe.

The second factor in the life of the

European cities which has been absent in America has been, on the one hand, the socializing power of the European working class, and on the other, that of the aristocracy. A nation ruled by its profit takers is a nation accursed, because, while the brutal and vulgar capitalist leeches exploit the producing class more intensely than do the aristocrats, they have absolutely nothing to give to society in return. Each particular sponge squats beside the others and soaks up what it can until the currents of social progress are choked and slimy.

The corruption of municipal government in America needs no describing here. The exposures of the past ten years have filled the magazines with facts and figures a little worse, to be sure, than was previously surmised. But the American working people have always rightly despised the city governments. The water hose would not put out the fire. Epidemics of preventable diseases have raged. Public buildings have fallen to pieces before they were completed. The tribe of politicians, from those who rule the smallest towns up to the organized gangs in control of Chicago and New York, have probably been, during the past generation, the most contemptible class

of social parasites on the face of the earth.

As Socialists, we have not expected much from the American capitalists; but in the government of the cities and states we see them at their worst. Nationally, they have been forced to maintain a federal government whose power the world would respect. In the government of cities, however, the wolfish pack has shown that in any case it will do as little as is possible. Their life business is to gobble up whatever they can lay their claws upon. Hence why bother with the government of cities when a little graft induces some one else to bother? Graft is the portion of the worker's product stolen in the industries which the capitalist gives to his political lackeys. A political grafted is no worse than his master, the capitalist.

In Europe as the working class becomes conscious of its historical mission it finds the cities well organized politically. It realizes that much of a social and civilizing character has been accomplished. Give one enough to live upon without work for a period of time and Paris, Vienna, Munich and Florence are abiding places fit for civilized human beings. The very worst that can be said about our ignorant and greasy plutocrats is that after they have cut the workers of Chicago and Pittsburgh to the bone in the shops and debauched their municipal government, they run off to some European capital, there to make the very name "American" a by-word for all that is apish and indecent.

So, as regards the government of cities, the working class of America comes upon the stage of affairs to find that it has to begin at the very beginning. Socially almost nothing has been accomplished really worth while. Great industry there is and this, the foundation of working class growth, must be the motive force of all our social progress. During the period of the social revolution in America the workers must perform a double task. They must first revolutionize the government of industry and then proceed to develop the means of social life and culture.

#### A Crucial Period for the Socialist Party

During the past eighteen months the Socialist Party has captured the governments of Milwaukee, Butte, Berkeley, Flint and a number of smaller towns. Needless

to say, the officials elected by the party have almost universally given entire satisfaction to their comrades by the earnestness and integrity with which they have laid hold of their Herculean tasks. The coming November election will witness numerous other victories. Half a dozen cities and towns in Ohio alone, probably including Columbus, will be swept along with the tide of Socialist progress. Yet amid all the joys of victories past and to come thoughtful comrades find cause for very serious alarm.

Danger does not spring from a lack of ideals in the Socialist Party. Its great mission in every way is quite clearly understood. The danger arises from a blunder common, indeed, to reform politicians, but which should threaten neither the integrity nor the progressive development of our party. Almost everywhere, our comrades are in the habit of making large pre-election promises, which, their officials having been elected, they are absolutely incapable of fulfilling. If the working class is not to lose the faith of our movement which they are so rapidly developing we must call a halt and take stock of our political possibilities.

A very common error is to promise that "as soon as the Socialist candidates are in office we shall have public ownership of public utilities." For instance, in the campaign which won Milwaukee, our comrades emphasized their intention of building a municipal electric light plant. A year and a half has now passed and but six months remains to the first Socialist administration in Milwaukee. However, the workers of that city are still reading the *Social Democratic Herald* by the light of Standard oil at twelve cents per.

We shall not here go into the effect of public ownership of public utilities upon the working class. This has been often enough threshed over for the understanding of even the most heedless social reformer in the ranks of the Socialist Party. In Johannesburg, South Africa, the city government owns every social utility in sight, except the gold mines, yet the workers' standard of living has not been raised an iota. They are simply exploited so much the more fiercely in the mines. If the government of the city of Milwaukee, for instance, should furnish to the workers all

the necessities of life except clothing, they would get enough wages to purchase clothes and no more. But to return to the pre-election promises. It is only natural for the party nominee to hopefully describe what he intends to do. Now what can he do and what can he not do in an American city.

A Socialist city government will do exactly as much as the capitalist government of the state will permit it to do. In Milwaukee the Socialists cannot fulfill their promise of an electric light plant, because the government of the State of Wisconsin will not permit it. The tax rate is limited. The debt limit is fixed. Above all, the city charter indicates just what the city can do and what it cannot do. This charter is a law of the state. So long as a state is ruled by the Democratic and Republican parties we can easily foresee the limitations of a Socialist city administration. A reform administration might secure the support of a reform state government. As long as the states are capitalist ruled, home rule for cities is a reform to be won, not by the Socialist movement, to which capitalism is opposed, but by a reform movement to which it is friendly. All this is so obvious as to require neither proof nor emphasis.

In most states the farming population is still proportionately so large as to make the capture of the state governments by the Socialist Party quite impossible during the ten years to come. There are a few far western states, such as Montana, Nevada, California and a few eastern states, among them Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, which may soon be carried by the Socialist Party; but we shall probably be unable even during the next fifteen years to capture half of the forty-five state governments. So the cities which fall into our hands will find their governments hemmed in, nailed down and prevented from being of any large use to the working class. It is a part of wisdom as well as of honesty to tell this to the working class NOW.

If the Socialist Party in the past had devoted more time to teaching sound Socialist economics and the public law of the United States and less to constructing municipal platforms and programs out of

cobwebs, the thoughtful portion of the party membership could face the immediate future of our movement with stronger hearts.

We make sky scraping Socialist speeches on the subject of "City Planning," and then, when the street cleaning department in a Socialist governed city wants a new wheel for the water wagon it is forced to borrow one from the hose cart. Let us repeat the facts over and over to ourselves and to the working class until all have learned them by heart and then we may fear no evil consequences of our "victories." Home rule for the cities should have been won by the capitalist reform party a generation ago. As it was not then accomplished it is now too late to expect much from the immediate future. We will do what the capitalists permit us to do and no more. If a Socialist city government becomes stubborn what will happen? Suppose it makes use of the police force to the injury of the property interest in time of a general strike, as, of course, it would do, the capitalist government of the state would bind and gag that city administration within twenty-four hours.

Immediately following the Milwaukee victory I wrote a series of articles for the *New York Call*, from one of which the following quotation is taken:

"In 1900 'Golden Rule Jones' became mayor of Toledo. Jones was an excellent fellow—a sort of utopian Socialist. He knew little of Marx, Engels and Kautsky, but he swore by the Bible, Walt Whitman and Bellamy's 'Looking Backward.' He did his utmost during his six years in office, to fight the fight of the working class. But after his first term his wings were clipped. Every power of the executive was taken from him by the state legislature and lodged elsewhere in the municipal government of Toledo. Finally the poor fellow was permitted to do nothing but act as a sort of justice of the peace and dismiss drunks and street women without fines. To perform this service the working people elected him term after term. When the good man died the government of the city of Toledo was again made to assume its normal form by the Republican state legislature.

"Some years ago war broke out between

Senator Quay's Republican legislature and the Democratic machine which ruled the city of Pittsburg. The legislature ended the matter by passing a statute abolishing the office of mayor of Pittsburg and practically placing the city government in the hands of appointees of the Republican governor. (A few months ago this same trick was again worked upon the poor defenseless politicians of Hell's capital city.)

"Just one more example, and this not the case of the destruction of a weak and statute-created municipal government by a state legislature. In 1894 was fought the great American Railway Union Strike. The 'Sovereign' state of Illinois had as its governor a genuine Democrat of the radical school, Altgeld. He refused to call out the state militia to shoot the strikers. The Constitution of the United States distinctly provides that the President can send federal troops to quell a riot or preserve the peace within a state only when requested to do so by the governor of that state. But contrary to the expressed wish of the governor of the state of Illinois, President Cleveland sent regular troops into the city of Chicago to 'preserve order.' A distinguished Republican newspaper at the time, one which has bitterly fought Cleveland throughout his whole career, congratulated him for 'driving a crowbar through the rotting coffin of state's rights.'

"If a Socialist working class government succeeds in being a 'good,' 'peaceable,' 'orderly' affair, doing exactly what reform governments do whenever they periodically assume the reigns of power, it will be let alone by the state; and likewise a Socialist government of a state, for similar reasons, will not be assailed by the federal government.

"But woe be unto such a Socialist administration if it use the police and local militia against the capitalists in case of a

strike. In the Colorado labor war of 1894 a sympathizer of the Western Federation of Miners was serving in the capacity of county sheriff. He took the side of the miners. The Citizens' Union appeared at his door one night, seized him and dragged him off to a dark room. There they tied a rope around his neck. A pen was handed him. A dark lantern flecked a spot of light at the bottom of a sheet of paper. 'Sign here,' sounded a guttural voice of the leader of the citizens' posse. It was the sheriff's resignation. He signed."

Municipal political campaigns furnish the greatest possible opportunity for Socialist agitation and education. The organizations built up during these campaigns can later elect members to the state legislature. A proportion of, perhaps one-third, Socialist members in a legislature can do much to prevent the use of the state government against the working class. The election of the Socialist administration in Milwaukee was probably the greatest single piece of Socialist propaganda work ever accomplished in this country. Furthermore, a Socialist city administration can undoubtedly advance the cause of public health. It can develop the public school system. That is, it can do some of the things which reform administration should have done a generation ago. Beyond this, the great mission of our Socialist city office holders is to go in, do the best they can, and then come out on the city hall steps and tell the working class what they can NOT do and why.

Fortunate indeed for those comrades, who, having been elected to municipal offices, are sufficiently discreet to go into the city hall with heads bowed and mouths closed. To bring capitalism to its knees—that will take sterner measures than we have here under discussion.





WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

## PAGES TORN FROM “THE CLASS STRUGGLE” AND OTHER HAYWOOD LECTURES

**Y**OU will all remember with me the 22d of Jan., 1905. It is recorded in history as Bloody Sunday. On that day there occurred a terrible massacre in St. Petersburg, Russia. It seems that the people of that country had

been ground down to such terrible conditions that they could no longer stand it. Families were living in single roomed huts or hovels, sleeping on the bare floor. Bedding and clothing were scant. They ate out of a common bowl. Their only food

was a coarse mush. To improve these conditions they determined to appeal to their Little White Father. They called the Czar of Russia their Little Father. But these peasants had never learned to write. So it must needs be a living petition.

The word went forth and thousands upon thousands of them gathered in the city of St. Petersburg. They marched toward the winter palace and as they marched they carried aloft the holy Cross of Christ. They bore upon their breasts their sacred icons. They were singing religious hymns. They were a religious people. They came within a hundred feet or less of the palace gates when a volley rang forth from the guns in the hands of the Czar's soldiers. Hundreds upon hundreds of these peaceful supplicants fell dead in the snow, their warm red blood mingling with and melting the white mantle that covers Darkest Russia at that season of the year. And when you heard the echo of that volley you heard the echo of the world wide class struggle.

When you heard the echo of the volley that killed the Russian peasants at St. Petersburg you heard the shrieks and groans of the Russian girls exiled from home who were burned to death in that terrible factory fire in New York City last winter. The same people, the same conditions, the same anguish, the same struggle everywhere.

\* \* \*

Across the sea from Russia in Finland our comrades are protesting because the constitution of their country has been abrogated by the authorities of Russia. They are protesting because the youth of that land are compelled to serve as soldiers in the Czar's army or to pay a tribute in gold.

Their protest is a voice in the class struggle!

\* \* \*

It has only been a few years ago since the unions of this country were sending money to assist the workers of Sweden who were involved in a great general strike. I visited Sweden while across the water and while there met many who took part in that great struggle. The workers who were on strike were not asking for an increase in wages or a reduction in hours. They had ceased to work in sympathy with thousands of their members who had been locked out

because they dared to organize. They were opposed by the employers' association who were backed up by the capitalists of the continent and the world. The Swedish workers were beaten to their knees. Women and children were compelled to subsist on black bread and water but they were not vanquished. As I was leaving Stockholm they said to me:

"Comrade Haywood when you return to America, tell the workers of your country that we will be fighting with them in the vanguard until the working class of the world are victorious!"

They are doing their part in the class struggle!

\* \* \*

From Sweden I went to the Latin countries and while there learned something of the conditions in Spain. It seems that certain French capitalists had made investments in the gold mines of the Riff Country. It is well known that the capitalist class does not confine its operations within the borderlines of any nation. The capitalist goes to any locality where he can make profit out of the sweat, blood and tears of the workers. The capitalist has no country, no flag, no patriotism, no honor and no god but Gold. His emblem is the dollar mark. His ensign is the black flag of commercial piracy. His symbol is the skull and cross bones of little children that are ground up in the mill. And the password of Capitalism is graft.

The Moors objected to their lands being exploited by capitalists, so the French bankers called upon the King of Spain to protect them in their vested interests. The King of Spain being one of the ruling class and a capitalist himself, called upon the young men of his country to go to war and he called upon the people of Spain to furnish the sinews of war. At this period, the Socialists combining with the labor unions of Spain declared a campaign against war. The Socialists of all countries are opposed to war and when we get just a little stronger in Spain, just a little stronger in the United States, just a little stronger in the nations of the world, the time will forever have passed when one workingman will shoot down another workingman in the interests of the capitalist class. And so declared the workers of Spain.

The building trades of Barcelona declared a general strike against war. At that time there lived in Spain a great educationalist. One of the foremost men of letters in the world. Like all humanitarians, he was opposed to war. He wrote, he spoke, he contributed a little money toward the general strike. And because of this, he was arrested as a revolutionist. They called him an anarchist. He was thrown into prison. His trial was a travesty upon justice. He had no lawyer. He was allowed no witness. He neither heard nor

saw the witnesses that testified against him. In spite of these conditions, he was convicted and sentenced to be executed. As this brave man stood at the open ditch that was to be his grave, he looked the twelve that were to take his life square in the eye and said:

"Long live the modern school."

When the volley rang out that sounded the death knell of Francisco Ferrer, it sounded the death knell of Capitalism in Spain.

It was the class struggle!

## AGAINST OLD AGE PENSIONS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**O**LD Age Pensions are of no material benefit to the working class. Remedial legislation of this brand has been and will be used by the capitalist class to keep the workers from revolt.

That the inmates of penal institutions should be excluded from the benefits of any working class measure is past our comprehension. It is an undisputed fact that ninety-five per cent of the convicts in this country are offenders only against private property interests. It is the purpose of Socialism to abolish private property in the means of life, and not to condemn those who refuse to recognize its sacredness. The workers have a right to live.

To advocate Socialism is an offense in the mind and eye of the capitalist class. In some communities it has been made a misdemeanor to carry on the propaganda of Socialism on the streets. If it is a misdemeanor to advocate Socialism, it can, by the ruling class, be made a felony. And all who persist in working for the cause would not be eligible for the Old Age Pension.

The Illinois Central Railroad, among other capitalist institutions, provides a pension for employes who have been with the company for a period of twenty-five years.

Eligibility for the pension, under capitalist institutions, does not date from the time a man takes out his citizen's papers but

from the time he becomes a worker in the industry owned by one of these philanthropic companies. It must be conceded then that there are some Captains of Industry who are broader and have a more liberal conception of humanity's needs than are to be found embodied in the pending Old Age Pension Act.

The effect of such measures as pensions has been clearly demonstrated in the strike that is now being waged by the System Federation against the Harriman lines. Employes of the company who have toiled unceasingly for years at small wages have now been threatened with having their pensions cut off if they take part in the strike for better conditions.

Pensions by governments create serfs. Pensions by capitalists make unwilling slaves. In either instance they must violate some manly principle. Give to the worker the full product of his toil and his pension is assured.

There can be no merit to Old Age Pensions, but if there were, the age limit is such that it will not apply to the working class. The average age of the American worker is thirty-five years. But a small percentage will live to attain the age of sixty. The beneficiaries will come from that class of persons who have never contributed to society by nerve racking and blood sapping toil.

# LABOR RULE IN AUSTRALIA HOW STRIKES ARE SETTLED

BY

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

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**T**WO years ago a strike occurred among the Newcastle coal miners. Newcastle, New South Wales, is the scene of the largest coal mining area in Australia.

A capitalist law, known as the "Industrial Disputes Act," made striking a crime. The strike leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, Peter Bowling, the leader, receiving the highest sentence of two years.

This made Bowling a "first class" prisoner and as such he was privileged to wear leg irons and undergo, during a certain portion of his incarceration, solitary confinement.

The working class became indignant. The Australian Labor Party waxed wroth. State and federal elections were pending. Enthusiastic politicians jangled Peter Bowling's leg irons and to the tune thus struck, the labor party of Australia, riding high on the crest of a great wave of working class indignation, carried the state of New South Wales and the commonwealth itself, in the elections of 1909. Australia consists of six states with separate governments. In 1901 the states relinquished certain rights and vested them in a federal government, since when the federal government has sought to extend its powers and the states have resisted the attempt to take away their "rights." Even where both state and commonwealth are ruled by labor, this antagonism exists, and at this very moment as I write, may have split the party in New South Wales.

The first and third states in order of importance—New South Wales and South Australia—are today ruled by labor as is also the Commonwealth Government. One

would expect, therefore, to see labor rule properly tested in the two labor states. My personal observation attaches to the government of New South Wales during the months of February to April of this year.

About the time of my arrival in Sydney a strike had been in progress among the Sydney gas workers. Secretary Kerr of the union had been victimized. A charge of "drunk on duty," had been preferred against Kerr by the company, but on investigation, the union proved it to be a "frame up" and decided that an injury to one being the concern of all, Kerr should be taken back or a strike declared.

It happened to be strike and in a few days the men were on the point of putting the whole city in utter darkness and confusion. Two labor ministers, however, arrived on the scene at this juncture. They had already consulted the bosses, and being "Labor" men, they easily gained access into the union meeting.

"Look here, boys," said they, "it sounds bad in other lands to have strikes under a labor government. If you will go back to work and agree to have the matter arbitrated upon, we will see to it that the employers agree to the appointment of Chris. Watson."

Now Chris. Watson is the biggest man in labor politics. Good, old Chris.! Big hearted Chris.!! The first labor premier of federated Australia! Why, of course, the men went back to work!

\* \* \*

A few days after Chris. Watson, ex-labor premier of the Commonwealth Government of Australia, had decided in favor of the bosses, the directors of the Syd-

ney gasworks held a board meeting.

Before proceeding to the ordinary business for which the board had gathered, the chairman arose and said:

"Gentlemen, before proceeding to the ordinary business for which we are gathered here this afternoon, I consider it to be the duty of this board to express its hearty thanks to Mr. Beeby, minister for labor and Mr. Carmichael, assistant treasurer, for the excellent services rendered by them in the recent strike"!!!

\* \* \*

Meantime the labor government was to have ample opportunity to exercise this seeming chief function of smashing strikes. Amongst other places, trouble was brewing at Carcoar, where the workers were not content to mine iron ore for the miserable pittance of \$1.75. Mr. Hoskins, the owner of the quarries, would not grant an increase and in defiance of the law the Carcoar men came out on strike.

The ore mined at Carcoar was taken some 35 miles east to the ironworks at Lithgow, also the property of Hoskins. Lithgow is 95 miles west of Sydney and is a typical manufacturing town. Its population of 8,000 is sheltered mostly in a few miserable hovels. The ironworks and blast furnaces at Lithgow are the only ones in the Southern Hemisphere.

The blast furnace men discussed the strike at Carcoar and finally decided not to touch the loathsome product of scab labor. Hoskins was notified accordingly and smiled. "Wait till the time comes," said he.

And when the time came in the course of a few days, when the first wagon load of scab ore came to the blast furnace, the men refused to "tip" it. It might have been already molten and produced no more profound effect upon the blast furnace men. "Come on, Jack, tip this ore," said the foreman, looking with astonishment at the disgusted countenances of the men on this particular shift.

"We'll do anything in the world but tip that scab material," said French and Donaldson and Ballantyne, the three men on the shift.

"Put your coats on," said the foreman, and he had to repeat the order to every man on the works, and finally with the

aid of "young" Hoskins, succeeded in saving the firm thousands of dollars by doing the tipping himself.

Thus Hoskins felt he could scrape along until the labor ministers came on the scene. Meanwhile the men were going great guns. Even the engineers came out to a man. Hoskins would surely be beat!

But no. Beeby and Carmichael happened to be at a banquet with Hoskins, without any design. Of course!

And over the glasses matters were arranged. Hoskins is a real fighting capitalist and insisted on certain terms. No amount of flattery or guile could budge him.

First, his scabs had to remain on the job.

Second, he would only take back the men he required in addition to the scabs.

Third, he would concede the labor demand that the men might ballot for jobs on the condition, however, that Dickson, the Blast Furnace Men's Union secretary, should not be taken on under any consideration.

Fourth, the labor government must promise to prosecute the strikers under terms of the "Industrial Disputes Act."

Now this was a hard task even for unscrupulous politicians. The Labor Party had, before gaining power, promised to repeal or amend the Industrial Disputes Act under which Bowling had been legironed for standing by his class. The Labor Party had not fulfilled its promise in this regard and here was a demand that they should serve the workers the same medicine as their capitalist predecessors in office. It was a hard task, but Hoskins was adamant.

So the work was done.

\* \* \*

The summons shown with this article charges the blast furnace men with having refused to handle "non-union" ore. The word "non-union" is used because the word "scab" does not appear in the court dictionary. "Scab" is meant. The Carcoar men were not all 'unionists. Only "scab" and not "non-union" labor was objected to.

A labor party financed by trade unionists and elected by their votes, prosecuting trade unionists, for refusing to handle the product of scab labor! It is scarcely believable, and less understandable.

*Summons.*

Divisions 1 and 2, "Justices Act, 1902"; "Industrial Disputes Act, 1908."

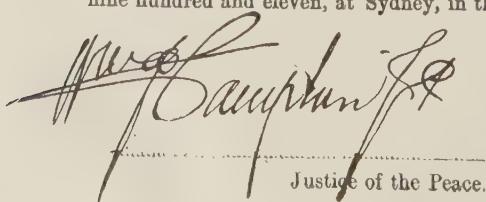
To F Ryan,  
of Lithgow in the State  
of New South Wales.

WHEREAS in pursuance of leave granted by the Industrial Court on the ninth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, information hath this day been laid before the undersigned, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the State of New South Wales, for that you on the fourteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, at Lithgow, in the said State, did unlawfully take part in a strike, that is to say, a cessation of work by a number of employees, to wit the blast-furnace workers in the employ of G. and C. Hoskins, Limited, such cessation of work being in a certain industry, to wit, the employees of the said G. and C. Hoskins, Limited, engaged in the iron trade, acting in combination with a view to enforce compliance with a certain demand, to wit the demand:—That the said employees should not be required by their said employer to handle iron ore obtained by non-union labour made by them on their employer, the said G. and C. Hoskins, Limited, such cessation of work not being for any cause not constituting a strike, contrary to the Act in such case made and provided:

These are, therefore, to command you in His Majesty's name, to be and appear, on Wednesday, the twenty-second day of March, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the Court House, Lithgow, in the said State, before the Industrial Court, to answer to the said information, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal, this fourteenth  
day of March, in the year of Our Lord one thousand  
nine hundred and eleven, at Sydney, in the said State.

†91506 (1)

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Justice of the Peace.



The Printed Summons issued by the Labor Government.

Yet that is what happened.

\* \* \*

About 2 a. m. one morning, Harry E. Holland, general secretary of the Australian Socialist Party and editor *International Socialist*, Sydney, and myself, journeyed to Lithgow, arriving there at 10 a. m., in time to hear the opening proceedings of the prosecution before the Industrial Court.

For three days I sat and listened and my blood boiled all that time, and often I could have cried out. Never have I seen labor so humiliated. A hundred and thirty-five men were charged.

Had the men cared to hamper the Court, they could have demanded each a separate trial. Instead of doing this, they resolved to be tried in batches, according to their different pleas and defense. Even with this aid the proceedings hadn't gone far at the conclusion of the first day.

Hoskins became alarmed. These men had mostly come from his works. Unless they attended to the blast furnace, it would become cool and he should lose thousands upon thousands of dollars. He confided in the judge, who said:

"Yes, Mr. Hoskins, I can sympathize with you. Let's see—I say, you men go back to work in the morning, and if I want you I'll send for you." And most of the men were actually tried in their absence.

Those who said, "Your Worship, I am a scab, I would not belong to a union, I don't believe in unions, I was just sick that day and couldn't come to work, I don't mean ever to strike," got acquitted.

Those who said the same, but were not believed, were fined five dollars, with an alternative of seven days' imprisonment.

Men who said, "We are guilty and have nothing to say except that we didn't come out until a week after the strike started," were fined fifteen dollars or twenty-one days.

Those like Bob Donaldson were fined twenty-five dollars or thirty-one days.

"What made you come out?" Donaldson was asked.

"Principle," was the curt reply.

"Whose principle?" said the prosecutor, in a bullying tone.

"Bob Donaldson's principle," was the immediate reply, and Donaldson straightened himself and stood his tallest, looking fearlessly at his cross-examiner.

That look was enough. No more questions were asked.

\* \* \*

Holland and I held nightly propaganda meetings and advised that no fines be paid. A week had been given for payment, but at the expiration of a week the fines were still unpaid.

The time was extended for two more weeks and still the workers did not avail themselves of the opportunity to pay their fines. The legislators were perplexed. The court proceedings had had a profound effect throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and already the big unions were passing resolutions in condemnation of the New South Wales Labor Party.

The Amalgamated Miners Association (Broken Hill), passed the following resolution: "That this meeting of the Amalgamated Miners Association condemns the traitorous action of the McGowen (labor premier) government in prosecuting, fin-



HARRY E. HOLLAND—DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

ing and attempting to jail unionists at Lithgow and Carcoar under the infamous Industrial Disputes Act, for refusing to handle scab iron ore, and we are astounded at this act of class tyranny seeing that the McGowen government pledged themselves to repeal the act."

The Amalgamated Miners Association is one of the most powerful unions in the country and other unions were following their lead. The Labor Government commenced to feel very uncomfortable.

On the eve of my departure for America a labor member of the Legislature confided in me. As the Labor Premier (McGowen) had gone to London to assist George Wetton to put his jewelled hat on straight, it was impossible to call a special session of parliament for at least three months. The payment of the fines had been again extended for that period. Meanwhile a special session of parliament would be called and the Industrial Disputes Act amended or appealed. Under this scheme the fines would never be paid.

\* \* \*

With experiences like these is it any wonder that working men turn to direct action methods to achieve their emancipation?

Here is a striking instance of the workers gaining by direct action what the political party which represented them promised to concede but failed to carry out.

A new Industrial Disputes Act is to be introduced. The Labor Attorney-General and Acting Premier Holman outlined this

new act at a recent meeting. It will provide for workers being fined without an option of going to prison, and fines will be collected by the capitalist employers from the wages of the offending workers.

Evidently the New South Wales Labor Party is determined to quell the rebellious instincts in the breasts of working men. But can they?

Perhaps they want further demonstration of the workers' power when direct action is forced upon them. They will certainly get it if they try to enforce such a law.

The experience of the Labor Government and the capitalist class in the Lithgow strike ought to teach them a lesson of the workers' power when they are driven too far and forced to fold their arms and dare their masters.

As workers required in the workshops of Messrs. Hoskins & Co., they could not be sent in such large numbers to prison. The boss who so determinedly insisted on prosecution and the Government, which undertook the prosecution, could not in the end inflict punishment upon the workers without punishing themselves much more.

There is a lesson to be learned in this story. The superior power of all is power to produce wealth. A labor or socialist party in parliament is not Socialism. The collective mind of the working class determines the nature of government. Our business is to educate towards revolution!

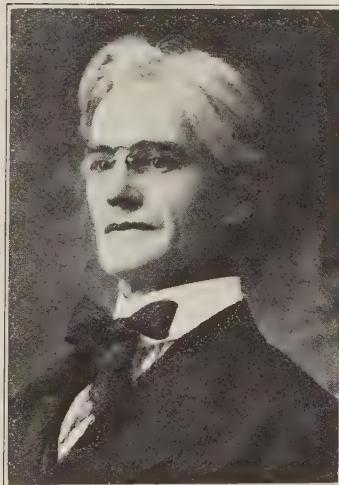


# SOCIALIST POLITICS IN BUTTE, MONTANA

BY

LEWIS J. DUNCAN

MAYOR



WHEN, last April, the Socialists in Butte, Montana, carried the city election, it was the greatest surprise the citizens of this place ever experienced. Even we, who were on the battle line and expected to win, did not anticipate such a landslide. The candidate for mayor received a majority of over 500 more than the combined votes for the democratic and republican candidates. The candidate for city treasurer did nearly as well. The aldermanic candidates in five out of eight wards were elected by very close pluralities and a change in the other three wards of from

five to twelve votes would have elected the three Socialist candidates who were unsuccessful. The police magistrate received 2,793 votes, electing him against two popular competitors for that office. This vote for police magistrate probably represented our legitimate city strength, and had the candidates for mayor and city treasurer received no more, it would have been sufficient to elect.

That our vote this year was larger than ever before in the history of the party in Butte is due to several causes. Chief among these is the fact that the capitalistic nature of the laws passed by the

state legislature last winter opened the eyes of even the most conservative trade unionists to old party perfidy and to the necessity of united political action on the part of organized labor for its own class interests. The Socialist candidates received the almost unanimous support of organized labor. The second important factor in this result in *The Butte Socialist*, which was started last December and distributed freely to every house in the city at bi-monthly intervals throughout the city campaign. Besides this, other literature was distributed most judiciously, and, although we held but three party rallies, every meeting of the working class organizations was vocal with Socialist oratory, and the members always went away plentifully supplied with our campaign literature.

Once in office we were immediately confronted with the practical problems of city administration. None of us had had previous experience of this nature but we went at the job fearlessly and with wise caution. We realized that something more than holding office was required; that it was up to us to show that Socialists are as capable of sound political action as they are sound in political theory; that working men can run a city government as well as "business" men.

We have already proved that thesis. We are running the city better than it has ever been run by either democrats or republicans, and are doing it at lower cost.

Our first problem was the selection of persons for the appointive offices. This has been done on the basis of special fitness in the one appointed to perform the particular duties of the position to which he is appointed. Not all offices are filled by socialists, though, when they can be had with equal abilities, Socialists are preferred. Not one office has been filled with a view to political expediency or for political reward. Before any appointment was made, it was considered and endorsed by the city central committee. This method prevented much after-election soreness and has resulted in a completely harmonious official household. Furthermore, every appointee was required, whether party member or not, to conform with the party rule respecting undated

resignation before receiving the appointment.

Our inheritance from former administrations consisted of filthy, long neglected streets and alleys, a long list of law suits connected with grading undertaken by a former republican mayor, and other law suits connected with the police department through the attempt of the democratic mayor, my immediate predecessor, to get around a metropolitan police law. Our legal department is handling all this litigation with signal ability, though many of the cases were hopeless from the outset.

The dirty streets and alleys were so vigorously attacked and the cleaning so thoroughly accomplished that within a month it was town talk that never before had the city been so clean. We have steadily maintained this record in the street department and our thoroughly efficient sanitary inspection and the swift and impartial prosecution of offenders have resulted in a showing of fewer cases of infectious and contagious diseases and a lower death rate than has ever before been the case during a similar period. Our scientific and relentless inspection of the milk supply of the city has brought that product up to the statutory standard, and the inspection of meats and other food stuffs is bringing the same result. All this we consider distinctly beneficial to the working class.

Another inheritance from former old party mal-administrations is a city treasury practically, though not actually, bankrupt. The municipal debt last May, when we were inducted, was over \$1,250,000, which is more than \$800,000 over the city's legal limit of indebtedness. All supplies, labor and other obligations for years past have been and are still paid in city warrants, and these, because of the financial condition of the city were selling at from 10 per cent to 25 per cent discount. The oldest city warrants were about two years past due and drawing 6 per cent interest. The city tax assessments for long years have been notoriously discriminatory against people of small means and in favor of the mining, banking and other large capitalistic concerns. As the assessments are made by the county

assessor, the city administration has been powerless to correct the evil, and we are equally powerless so far as valuations are concerned. Owing to this condition, for many years the municipal income has been about \$100,000 less per annum than the municipal expense. Former administrations have done nothing to correct this, but have gone on piling up the debt.

To meet this condition, to restore the credit of the city and the value of its warrants, the Socialists proposed, besides reducing the expenses, to increase business licenses. Especially were we in favor of raising the licenses of big corporations. Right at the outset we encountered state laws which limit to relatively low rates the amount of license that may be required of public utility corporations. The old license rates for these, low as they are, were up to the limit allowed by law. It was discovered, however, that state banks were not thus protected; neither were mining companies. So we made rates which would require of the mining companies doing business in Butte a license amounting to about one per cent of their annual net profits. "Mining companies in Butte pay license?" It was an unheard-of piece of impudence, but we proposed it. (By the way, licenses paid by small stores in this city amount to *about one per cent of their gross sales.*) Our ordinance also proposed raising licenses on banks and the large department stores considerably above the former rates. Needless to say, when it got into committee our ordinance was strenuously opposed by republican and democratic aldermen. The minority of the finance committee recommended that it be not passed and when it came to the council, a majority of the aldermen, being old party representatives, adopted the minority report and thus defeated our plan.

The issuing of ten-twenty bonds to the amount of \$400,000 and bearing 6 per cent interest was much favored by bankers, as the solution of the city's financial problem. This was also favored by the old party aldermen. The Socialists, after carefully weighing the proposition, decided against it. We planned and carried out a program by which the "big interests" should line up the old party alder-

men in support of an ordinance increasing the present rate of taxation on city property from 12.1 mills to 16.2 mills. Hearing their master's voice, the republican and democratic members of the council proposed and voted for this ordinance. This increase will add enough revenue to the municipal income to make it certain that by December 1st of this year, seven months after we took office, the city will be more than \$100,000 inside its legal limit, and city employees will no longer have to discount their warrants in order to get cash.

About six years ago, the republicans, being in office and having effected a pretty clean sweep of the democratic employees, secured the enactment by the legislature of a metropolitan police law. This law was designed to build a wall around the police force, as then organized and officered, which should prevent democrats at some later time from making a clean sweep of the republican policemen. The law provides for civil service examination of applicants for admission to the force, a six months' probationary service before permanent appointment, discharge only for cause on charges proven before a trial board (appointed by the Mayor), an eligible list from which only appointments shall be made, and makes the mayor the executive head of the department subject only to the provisions of the Act itself.

When, four years ago, the republicans were defeated in city election and democrats came in, the fireworks began. The democratic mayor, seeking to avoid the law and to get his party friends on the force, effected numerous discharges for cause, but being unable to get vacancies enough that way he discharged a number of others without trial and on pretext of reducing the expense of the department. The men thus discharged sued the city for damages and, one month after we took office, the supreme court issued a mandate requiring that thirteen of the men discharged by the democratic mayor, for purposes of economy, be restored to active service in the department. We had no alternative but to obey.

This restoration made the force much larger than our necessities required and seriously interfered with our policy of re-

trenchment. Under the supreme court's decision, the city council has concurrent power with the mayor in reduction of the force, when such reduction is for purposes of municipal economy, and the mayor may only make such reductions when authorized by the council. When, therefore, the thirteen discharged republicans were thus reinstated by the court, we at once got the council to pass a resolution reducing the active force by sixteen. The mayor submitted a list of that number to be retired from the active to the eligible list, and the council confirmed his action.

Meanwhile several discharges, for cause on charges proven before the present trial board, had been made by the mayor and the vacancies thus occurring were filled from eligibles passed by the present examiners. Three of these new appointees are Socialists. This raised the ire of some of the aldermen. They claimed that, before any others on the eligible list were appointed, those previously active, but retired to eligible list, should be exhausted. Of course, the motive was merely to keep Socialists off the police force, and the coarse work of the police at the last city election in behalf of the democratic candidate for mayor—the chief of police under the last administration—fully explained this anxiety. This effort to restore former democratic police to active duty, was supported by republican aldermen.

The Socialist mayor's answer to this effort was the appointment to active service of a negro from the eligible list. This man had been an unsuccessful candidate for a minor office before the last republican county convention. His appointment raised a storm of protest, but it also opened the whole subject of race, color and creed distinctions inside the working-class movement. The controversy on this subject resulted in better education of non-Socialist working men. The Socialist support of the negro appointee demonstrated the sincerity of our party on the race question and our debates silenced all criticism inside the ranks of the working class organization. Seeking to make political capital out of the incident, the old party aldermen held up the salaries of

the Socialist and the negro policemen, hoping to force either their resignations or retirement. This plan did not succeed. Later two republicans came over to the help of the Socialist aldermen and the salaries were paid. The next move of the opposition was to introduce a council resolution to retire from active service on the police force five men, "for the purpose of economy." This was passed by the aldermanic majority. Immediately another motion was made naming, as the five men to be retired, the Socialists, the negro and one other appointee by Mayor Duncan. The mayor ruled the motion out of order, but his ruling was not sustained, and the motion carried. The mayor, at next meeting vetoed the action. In the meantime, he had laid off five other men in compliance with the first resolution of the council. In the meantime also, public opinion had convinced the majority aldermen that they were going too far and that the mayor was strictly within his rights under the law. Accordingly, his veto was sustained almost unanimously. The Socialists and the negro are still in active service, the police department is short by five old party men, and the pay roll will be smaller by about \$500 per month.

In every department we have reduced the working force by eliminating every unnecessary person formerly carried on the pay rolls; thus the maximum of efficiency is secured at minimum of cost. Every employee is working eight hours—actually doing the service for which he is paid—and the results are very gratifying to the public. Our police magistrate—famous old warrior—Tom Booher, is giving admirable demonstrations of justice as seen from the Socialist view-point. "Best man ever in that office," is what an old party politician voluntarily confessed after studying Booher's methods. Another compliment, wrung by facts from one of the old party aldermen is this: "There is one notable thing to be said about this Socialist administration, no matter into what department you go you are met by 'gentlemen' and treated with courtesy."

The Butte Socialists are all revolutionists; not mere reformers or parlor

Socialists. We realize fully that, under capitalism and capitalistic laws, little more can be accomplished than superficial reforms. But our realization of that fact does not mean we are content to stop at that point. We are as determinedly revolutionary in office as we were before getting political power, and we hold mere political success very cheaply. Not for an instant do we relax our efforts for the entire revolutionary program. Not in a single particular have we compromised the revolutionary principles or entered into trades with our political and economic adversaries for the purpose of maintaining political office or of securing future support. We do not believe such surrenders even necessary or expedient. On the contrary, it is our conviction and our fighting tactics that only along the road uncompromising fidelity to the principles and tactics of revolutionary Socialism lies the "road to power," and every man and woman of us, in office or out of it, would rather fail along this road than win temporary success along any other. But, being in a position to demonstrate the spirit and purposes of the Socialist movement, we also feel that it is up to us to show the bourgeoisie not only that working men can carry on the business of a municipality as efficiently and as economically as men of the other class, but that we can do it better and more honestly. Doing this, and we are doing it, we believe we are strengthening the party and the entire working class movement,

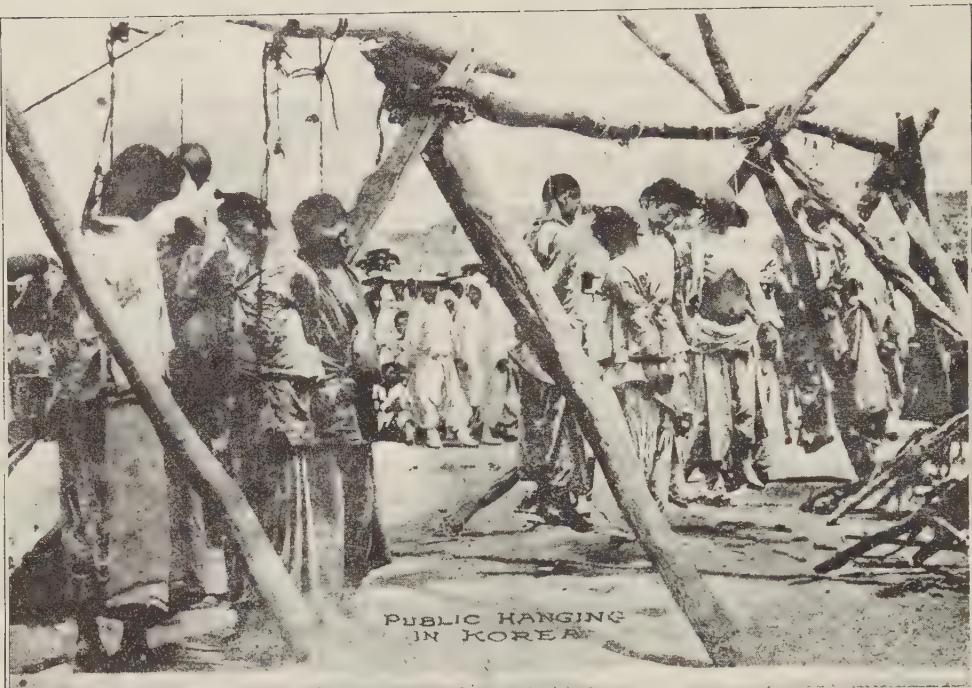
by banishing bourgeois fears, by winning the confidence and respect of all classes, and thus paving the way, not as Russell says has been the case with the laborites in New Zealand, "to keep in," but the way to future success which shall enlarge the field of our educational method.

That we are succeeding by this purpose and tactic is beginning to be apparent. The "interests," meaning the Amalgamated Copper Company, public service corporations, old party politicians and the corrupt and grafting social elements of all sorts, are already showing signs of alarm. They fear, with excellent reason, that we shall carry the county next year. To carry the county will mean twelve Socialists in the next legislative assembly. This will mean, possibly, a balance of power in that body, and this will mean repeal of a number of laws that now protect exploiters, and the passage of other laws to protect the workers.

We believe this result to be more than a possibility, and our slogan is, "Silver Bow County in 1912 and the State of Montana for Socialism in 1916."

While we have no illusions respecting the evanescent value of mere office getting, we are by no means insensible to the value of education by political deed. Our comrades, everywhere, may feel well assured that the Socialists in Butte and Silver Bow County may be depended on to exemplify clearly what is best in the principles and most vital in the tactics of the Socialist party.

**From Akron, Ohio.**—We want to tell you how much we appreciated Haywood's address here. It was simply great. We knew he was an able comrade, but his splendid lecture was a surprise even to us. He made many friends and we hope to have him here again in the near future.—Marguerite Prevey.



## REBELS IN JAPAN

BY

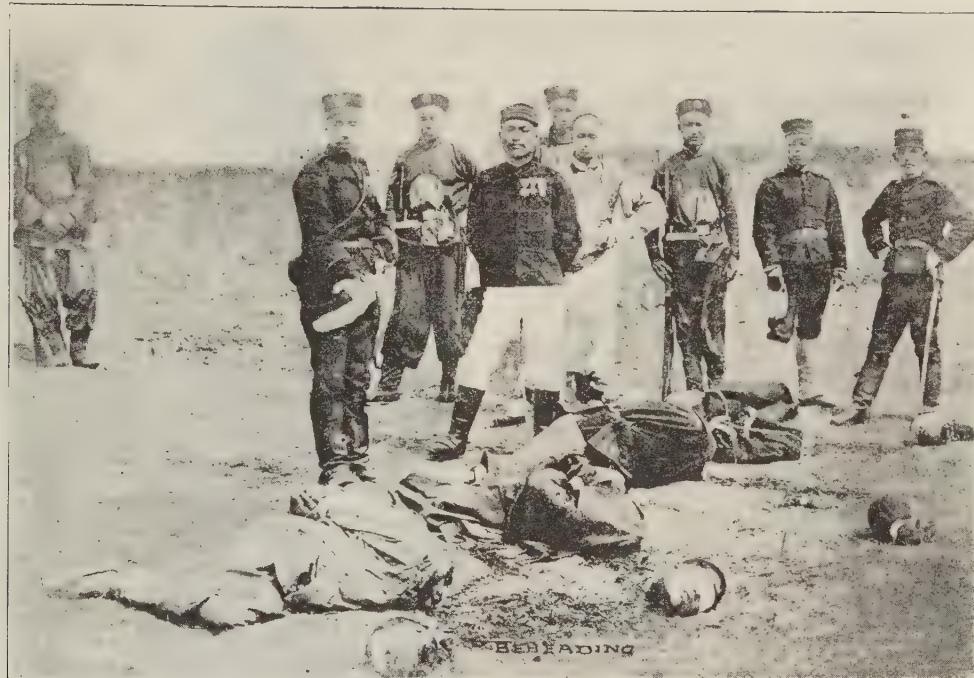
L. LODIAN

CAPITALISM is developing very fast in Japan. And the writer has noticed the discontent springing up among the working class and their hope for something better.

We have not yet forgotten the eight Socialist men and one woman who were executed in Japan last year because they taught the workers how to free themselves. At that time the Japanese government gave out to the world that these martyrs were anarchists, but the writer who knew all about them personally can vouch for their Socialism.

At that time the edict went forth throughout Japan for the suppression of Socialism and Socialists in the empire.

When His Excellency, one Togo, invaded Korea and annexed the island to the Mikado's realm, he crushed out all rebellion against the Japanese dictators with an iron hand. When the farmers of Korea, having just paid the home taxes, were levied upon by the new government, they found themselves in a desperate situation. The pressure of the Japanese stripped them absolutely bare. Those who rebelled or agitated against the "foreign invader;" those who were unable to pay the additional taxes, or who were known to be Socialists were promptly executed by order of the strutting little egotist, Togo, whom America's Four Hundred



have been dining the past few months.

Big Capital, flying the Mikado's banner, has captured and annexed Korea. All those who have raised their voices in protest have had their voices silenced. But

Capital cannot silence the voice of the whole working class and the rising proletariat in Korea will soon join the great army of the revolution to emancipate the whole working class.



SYMBOLS OF CAPITALISM.

# RELIGION, FRAUD AND THE SEAMEN

Wall Street

Aids the First,  
Abets the Second,  
in

Fleecing the Third

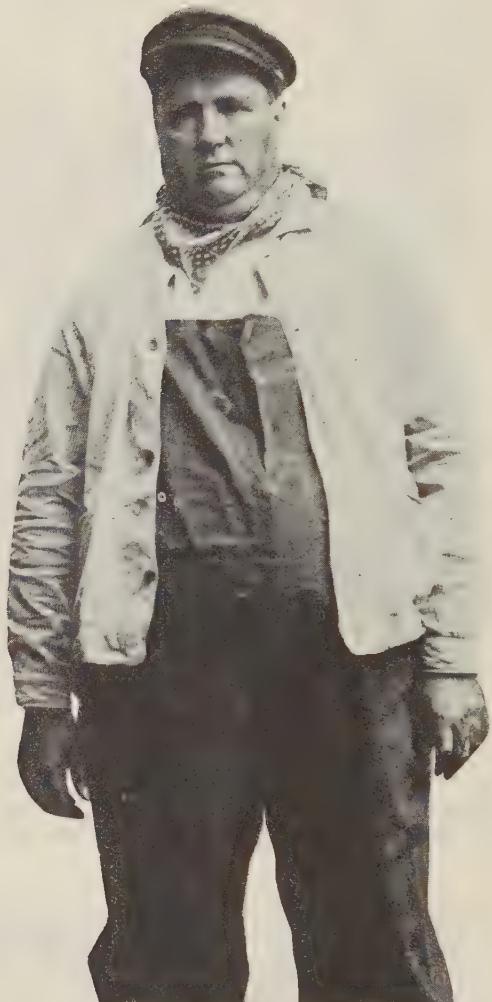
By  
CAPT. JAS. F. McFARLIN

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THE laws protecting the seaman are just as stringent as those that enslave him. He is in a vise. Slavery in his condition, both by the natural laws that keep him bound to his ship while it is out at sea and by the governmental laws which compel him to remain near it while on shore. Added to this, he is preyed upon by endowed institutes such as "The Seamen's Church Institute of New York," its assistant "The Breakwater," a hotel; the "Christian Association for the Benefit of and Spreading of the Gospel Among American Seamen," a name as long as it is false and misleading; and others of smaller beaks and claws.

These organizations are in league with the shipowners and it is understood that



CAPTAIN McFARLIN.

the men are to patronize them if they wish for another job. It is not long after the institutions take them in that they need the job, and so the institutions allow them to go into debt to them; in that way exacting a part of future earnings of the men before the fellow on the other side of the ocean is able to get at them.

The Socialist always goes to the cause for evil effects. How do the Missions secure their legal right to live? Perhaps the Socialist can go down and obtain a strong-

hold, a place where they may teach the sailors to see the truth about the society to which they come back every once in a while to live. We will write to the office of the treasurer of the state of New York and receive this answer:

Albany, July 8th, 1910.

James F. McFarlin,  
46 Catherine St.,  
Care N. Y. Port Society,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:—Referring to your letter of July 6th, 1910, we beg to advise you that the state does not license sailor boarding houses, as stated by you and would suggest that you address all inquiries to the city authorities instead of the state.

Yours respectfully,  
(Signed) T. B. DUNN,  
State Treasurer.

We embrace him, mentally, and immediately write to the city authorities, and receive the following reply:

Mayor's Office,  
Bureau of Licenses, City Hall,  
New York.

August 24th, 1910.

Mr. James F. McFarlin,  
Chief Stewart, care N. Y. Port Society,  
46 Catherine St., New York City.

Dear Sir:—I beg to acknowledge your letter of July 18th, making inquiry in regard to licensing of sailors' boarding houses, and in reply, to say that the license is not paid to the city of New York, but to the state.

Respectfully,  
(Signed) E. V. S. OLIVER, JR.,  
Chief of Bureau.

And this is the way our worthy politicians shift their burdens.

The Seamen's Church Institute is an organization supported by seven of the richest men in the country and many next to them in wealth. Since Wall street is concerned in all the undertakings of international importance, and since the means of national intercourse are the ocean and lake steamers, it does not take very much reasoning to conclude that Wall street will have the greatest desire to have a submissive sea-faring crew. This is proven in fact by the list of contributors to the missions which includes the names of Rockefeller, Morgan, Schiff, the Astors, Carnegie and other dollar-minded men of Wall street. John D. Rockefeller is reported as having donated \$10,000 in one lump.

The Rev. Archibald R. Mansfield is head of the Church Institute. Prior to its in-

ception, the sailors catered to hotels and lodging houses that came within the means they felt they could afford. The Church Institute was ostensibly started as a protection to the sailor against the Crimbs who were ever ready and waiting for him to land. But the sailor has enough of mystery while out at sea, so that when he gets back to land he prefers to stay away from prayer meetings. The church felt that it was time to call them back. Again, a destitute sailor is the most hopeless creature on the face of this earth. To take advantage of him in this condition is a simple matter; to do so in the name and under the cloak of religion is a cinch.

So instead of attempting to help the seamen by doing away with the Crimbs, they have simply monopolized the field and installed themselves in the place of the individual sharks. If these organizations were there for the sailors' benefit, what purpose could they have in compelling them to obtain employment through their offices? All that would be necessary would be to see that no one else was there to be a drain on the seamen. Not only have they taken hold of most of the ordinary traffic, but they have, by virtue of pious faces "full of devotion for the noble purpose," succeeded in obtaining the honorary sanction of a misled and ignorant public.

Has the United States government become an institution of charity that it sees fit to pay the Seamen's Church Institute \$2.00 for every man recruited for the Naval Auxiliary Service in spite of its own laws making it unlawful for any person to accept money from a seaman for securing him a position? Perhaps this is in line with Mr. Mansfield's claim that the interest of many steamship companies in the sailor's welfare is so great that they insist upon paying them, through this church institute, graduated sums for the same services.

Will the Institute answer the question, why it secured the aid of "crimbs" to help it drag the slimy bottom of the Bowery for destitute men, men desperate in the misery of unemployment, so that the S. S. Drummond Castle, whose charter had expired in New York, might sail back to England? Why it drew on the wages of these men, knowing that the men would not be needed after they reached England and would be

stranded there? Did they think that London and Liverpool were in greater need of such men, or was it that the organization was in greater need of the dollars that these men had earned?

In 1908, the S. S. Daghestan was wrecked off Sandy Hook. The owners instructed the captain to retain his men as witnesses at their expense. Mansfield nearly fell over himself to do an act of charity by taking these men into his hotel, "The Breakwater." This is the place that is run by the Seamen's Church Institute for men who have money to pay. Those who have none, are there sometimes induced to go into debt, so that the Institute may violate the law and draw in advance on their wages. But soon the time came when the company in England had no more need of these men and discharged them. Mansfield was paid by the company for boarding them for two weeks. Now that they had no more money, Mansfield had no charity in his soul. He turned the men out—out upon the mercy of whom? why, the crimps. And what did these rascally crimps "against whose crimes the organization was formed," do? They took these men into their own care until they had obtained employment and could refund the cost.

Mansfield is at the head of a religious organization, but even a religious organization is without a soul. The "Crimps," bad as they are, own boarding houses individually, and no matter how hard pressed men may be by the conditions around them, there is yet the possibility that a little sympathy may have been left in their hearts to rise to the top, the bit of cream in the whole can of milk. But an organization is an immense machine in which no single part is able to act without the consent of the whole.

I have given consideration to the apex of this triangle of hypocrisy: fraud and violation of the law. I shall now turn to measure the angle of its base, for surely, the difference is only a matter of degree between the American Seamen's Church Institute and its two great rivals, the Christian Association for the Benefit of and Spreading of the Gospel Among American Seamen and the American Seamen's Friend Society.

The Christian Association for the Bene-

fit and Spreading of the Gospel Among American Seamen is superintended by Mr. Stanford Wright. Mr. Wright may be a personal friend of Mr. Mansfield, but what's a friend in business. Evidently, they have forgotten that they are working for the same God. It is Mr. Wright's business to see that the American Line Steamship Company is never in want of seamen, and the steamship company has conceded to Mr. Wright all the privileges the law denies him in the way of shipping men. Mr. Wright is not as frank as his worthy rival in admitting the amount he receives for each man he secures. But Mr. Wright has the right, and gets as much as he can without setting a price. He is no more afraid of punishment than is the company for which he endangers himself.

The American line has a large subsidy for the carrying of mails and still an additional sum for which the company agrees to carry a certain number of American seamen on each trip. Not only does this company neglect to live up to its agreement, but it even violates the federal law which declares for an open port to seamen who are in want of employment. At the gate of this company stands a servant of God—S. S. Company, serving in a similar capacity as the good old Peter. He demands that you show your reckonings before you may enter the kingdom of Uncertain Employment. Have you been good slaves? Then yours is the glorious opportunity of doing the dirty work for God-S. S. Company. If not, you find yourself in the lower regions of Unemployment. Then, if you are an American, you are in a worse predicament even than a heathen attempting to enter the real "Kingdom."

Once there was an awakening in the offices of "justice." The Government at Washington saw that the ports were opened. Then it went its way. The American line soon saw that the ports were closed again and is still going its way. And the men who are ever on the alert for a job are still compelled to go the same way as before the government opened and shut its eyes to what it did not care to see.

One would think that the sums exacted from the helpless sailor would satisfy any heartless man, but not so with men of the make-up of those we are exposing. They are religious men, however, and must

not permit the possibility of being suspected of such low actions. And so, to cover up the fact that they are flushed with money from such unworthy sources, they must make a pretense of poverty. Poverty is a condition that all people fear. We are usually sympathetic with the poverty stricken. Here is an organization that is begging "for money for the sake of helping the men of the sea." It is a worthy cause. Let us help. And the cry of the organizations for gold is heard and people from unapproachable places give heed and give aid.

The Rev. Carl Podin, a very dear friend of Mr. Mansfield knew who dared to tell all he knew about the thwarting of the Mission's mission. He called upon me with a request. He wanted me to make an affidavit to be presented to the board of managers placing the blame of the exposure in the *New York Call* and other local papers upon the American Seamen's Friend Society, claiming that the Seamen's Friend Society had maliciously conspired to take action against the organization he represented. I took the hint and went down to interview Rev. McPherson Hunter, the secretary of the latter organization, intending to use the statements of both against each other. "But the Rev. Hunter decided otherwise," says the *New York Call*. "He lit out of New York like a shot, and didn't stop until he came to the Pacific Ocean. He had no intention of having his society dragged into the public gaze." Why not at this particular moment? Why do they flirt with the public gaze when they want the public's money?

This organization was founded by Mrs. Russell Sage, and is still being maintained by her. It is a statistical fact that the greater part of the money given over to charity is expended in supporting the officials that have themselves elected to carry on the business of the institutions. Out of \$11,005.59 received by the Christian Association, \$5,426.95 of which comes from the steamship companies, the record of that association shows that \$6,001.36 went for "Salaries"; \$1,378.08 was spent in maintaining the building; \$455.00 for expenses to annual concert and Hope Circle; \$1,300.66 for "refreshments" on holidays; \$53.86 for newspapers and magazines; and \$37.00 for lodging for seamen. And it

must not be forgotten that out of those expenses entailed in "entertaining" the sailor, there were expenses necessitated in having the stuff doled out. There is still an amount of \$1,491.22 waiting to be milked. This is from a report sent to me by that association dated "March 31, 1911."

Furthermore, it must be known that the amount for the building expenses does not mean that the sailor gets the full benefit out of the building, for, in the first place, small fees are charged for the use of certain parts of the building, such as 10c for use of the swimming pool. The rooms at the American Seamen's Friend Society are five feet by eight feet and cost \$1.75 per week. They are furnished at the cost of fifteen dollars. But there are eighty-dollars worth of furnishings in the room used by the hired "servant." Another point as to who gets the cream of the "charities for the poor." The prices of food in the institute's restaurant (run by a private individual), are so exorbitant that "only the better class of seamen" patronize it.

The society claims to be like a lighthouse, not only saving life but giving it. There was a case of a seaman sick with typhoid fever who came and asked for a glass of milk. The servant notified Mugford and was told to see that the man had a nickel or he, the servant, would have a pay for it himself. Shortly after that, the ambulance took the man to the hospital where he was "entertained" in another charitable institution.

Nor do they neglect the intellectual life of the seamen. These organizations brag of the number of libraries put aboard ships, but when the question was put to them, the only case they could think of mentioning was the "Roosevelt," the one that took Peary on his trip to the North Pole. And it is a common fact that whatever other libraries do reach other steamers, never get to the sailor, but into the captain's cabin, or the few men immediately under him.

And what, after all has been said, can be charged to these organizations: that they are peculiarly barbarous and parasitical? No. We can only look about us and see that everywhere there are the same pilferings and filchings imbedded in the structure of society, that form, in fact, its very foundation.

# “MURDER” IS AN UGLY WORD

BY

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS

**L**IZZIE WOLGETHAN, aged 17, slain by terror, the brutalities of the “third degree” and neglect in a dungeon of the Oakland, Cal., city prison, was *a daughter of a Socialist party member*. This fact made a difference to Walter J. Petersen, captain of detectives, in charge of the illegal “detinue system” in Oakland. It made a difference to the police government of that city; to the Supreme court of the sovereign state of California, and to other institutions and men, including our Comrade Harry C. Tuck.

Comrade Tuck, having served in the jail where Lizzie Wolgethan was murdered, a ninety-day term for “libeling” Captain of Detectives Petersen by means of a cartoon in *The World*, Oakland, of which he is editor, was released in the dark hour before dawn on the morning of October 16. The time was well chosen to avoid any tremendous demonstration of welcome to Comrade Tuck as he left the prison where he had been confined three months for giving an ugly name to an act which jail officials are wont to look upon as one of “duty” or a means of permissible recreation. The term “Murder” rankled in the warped minds of Captain Petersen and his crew, and they shrank from the thought of a cheering multitude to greet the man who put the brand upon them too deeply ever to be removed by judicial opinions or the verdict of a selected jury.

Two or three of the undermen of the police government—men who had shown Tuck some kindness in prison—seemed ashamed of the part they have had to bear in the persecution.

It should be noted that there are policemen who deeply deplore the necessity which has driven them to accept the badge and uniform of shame; who cherish always a hope of finding some less disreputable means of obtaining a livelihood for themselves and families. As a rule it is only

the cold blooded and infamous that remain and win promotion, and usually the worst of all that “rise” to be captains of detectives.

The reception which he should have received would have warmed Tuck’s heart, but the joy of coming from the darkness of a prison cell into the living daylight would have been denied him in any event, for he is and long has been stone blind.

## History of Tuck’s “Crime.”

One night in October, 1910, in Melrose, a suburb of Oakland, a house burned down. The police, prone to suspicion where the poor and uninfluential may be made the objects, decided the fire was of incendiary origin. They arrested the woman who had owned and occupied the cottage.



H. C. TUCK.  
Editor *The Oakland World*.

However, suspicion is not evidence or proof, even to juries refusing to recognize the true character of the police and insisting on respecting the trained brutes in uniform. "Evidence" must be manufactured where it does not exist.

In the neighborhood of the burned house was the home of William Finkledye and his wife, a working class couple. With them at the time, on a visit, was Lizzie Wolgethan, a sister of Mrs. Finkledye.

Women, especially at frequently recurring periods of physiological disturbance, commonly offer the best subjects for the gaining of "evidence" under terrorism. Mrs. Finkledye and her young sister, the police decided, must have been acquainted with their neighbor and might have heard her say something of a "damaging character." Nothing so delights the cankered imagination of the average policeman as something of a "damaging character."

So they broke into the Finkledye home at 2:30 o'clock on the morning of October 10, dragged the frightened Lizzie Wolgethan out of bed and placed her and her relatives under arrest as "witnesses." What they were supposed to have "witnessed," or why they should be arrested for it in dead of night, they did not know.

The three prisoners were placed in "detinue" in the city jail. Later Finkledye and his wife were released, for Miss Wolgethan, ill and almost hysterical under the torture of the "third degree," seemed the most desirable possibility for the making of "evidence" against the neighbor whose house had burned down.

The first session of the "third degree" ended, the girl was thrown, fainting, into a cell, where she was left lying on the slimy iron floor.

Later in the day Comrade G. Wolgethan, father of Lizzie, learning of the arrest, hurried to the jail. He was permitted to see his daughter. He found her delirious, and she could not recognize him. In his grief and anxiety he forgot that the police government must not be criticised, and demanded that his daughter be released at once. He offered to give bail. He was hustled out of the cell and into the presence of the captain of detectives. *Captain Walter J. Petersen informed Comrade Wolgethan that there was no charge against his*

*daughter, and therefore she could not be admitted to bail.*

Helpless in the face of brute force displayed by blue-coated makers of law in violation of statutory law,—which is bad enough,—Comrade Wolgethan left the jail in search of legal advice. Below, in the reeking cell, his daughter was passing from spasm into spasm.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of October 10, Sadie Robertson, prisoner and cellmate of the dying girl, appealed to the jail officials to call a physician. It was not done. Again and again, in the hours that followed, she repeated her appeal, and was told to "shut her damned head."

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, October 11, 1910, while Comrade Wolgethan was trying to start habeas corpus proceedings, Martha Wolgethan and Mrs. Wagner, sisters of Lizzie, called at the jail to see and try to comfort the innocent prisoner. *Captain of Detectives Walter J. Petersen told them that their sister was released and had gone home.*

Three hours later, unattended except for the ministrations of poor Sadie Robertson in the dark cell, Lizzie Wolgethan's conscious part in the tragedy ended in death. Her father, returning to secure her release, found her body on a slab in the morgue.

*Editor Tuck said she was murdered, and named Captain of Detectives Walter J. Petersen. For that Tuck served his term of ninety days in jail.*

At the time of Lizzie Wolgethan's death, *The World*, edited by Comrade Tuck, already had begun an attack on the detinue system, especially on account of its employment in the cases of miners, members of the Western Federation of Miners, thrown into the Oakland jail on suspicion of knowing something about dynamite, following Otis' gas explosion in Los Angeles. Articles on the Wolgethan case appeared from week to week and then, in the issue of January 12, 1911, Younglove's cartoon was published.

Younglove is a Socialist and an artist. His cartoon effectively depicted Captain Petersen, uniformed, in a prison cell, a long knife labeled "Cruelty" in his hand; in front of him a shrouded Death bearing the white-robed body of Lizzie Wolgethan

in its arms; on the wall a framed portrait of George Washington draped in the American flag. The cartoon was captioned, "Murdered!"

On Monday, January 14, Tuck was arrested and charged with criminal libel. A jury, selected by the Oakland police to try the case, listened restlessly to the testimony of Wolgethan and other relatives of the murdered girl, and of Sadie Robertson, but did what was required of it. In the evening of February 9 the verdict of "guilty" was brought in. On February 11 Tuck received his sentence from Police Judge Mortimer Smith, and went to jail pending habeas corpus proceedings before the state supreme court of California. The result of the proceedings was that three of the justices voted "not to consider" the petition; two declined to vote, and Chief Justice Beatty filed a dissenting opinion declaring that the matter might have merit and should be heard. *This arrangement left the way open for the supreme court to reverse itself, in case of necessity, in future cases of Socialist editors, by a change of only one vote.*

Tuck was released on bail after fourteen days of imprisonment during which the

supreme court justices were making their little arrangement, and appeal from the police court judgment was taken.

On Saturday, February 18, the cartoon appeared again in *The World*, but with Captain Petersen's cruel face blotted out and a black question mark put in its place surmounting the uniformed figure with the knife of cruelty in its hand.

Late in July Superior Judge Sayre decided the appeal, sustaining the judgment of the police court.

Tuck was not ordered to jail at that time, and an intimation was given that he was to be permitted to "serve the remainder of his term outside." Captain Petersen's vindictiveness, however, set aside this wise plan, and on Wednesday, August 2, Tuck was called on to pay the full penalty for his "crime."

So was the murder of Lizzie Wolgethan accomplished, and so was Comrade Harry C. Tuck punished for naming the man who seemed to be responsible.

Tuck's offense was a technical one, of course. . . . Technically, captains of detectives cannot commit "murder." "Murder" is an ugly word.

## SIXTH I. W. W. CONVENTION

BY

B. H. WILLIAMS

EDITOR OF SOLIDARITY.

**N**OT long since, a very pertinent question was asked by Frank Bohn through the columns of the *Review*. That question, "Is the I. W. W. to grow?" has gained an affirmative force in the minds of many of us who attended the sessions or reviewed the proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which adjourned its ten days' sittings in Chicago on September 28.

A number of disquieting rumors were afloat prior to the convention. One was

to the effect that the "antis" as they are familiarly called would be there in full force and with the avowed purpose of so amending the Preamble or changing the Constitution, as to make the I. W. W. once and for all an "anti-political" organization. Another had it that the supposed "antagonism between the rank and file and the general administration" would result in a split at the convention, and thus again interrupt the constructive work of the organization. Other rumors went the rounds, all tending to the conclusion in the minds of those who

circulated them, that "something was going to happen at this convention," to show that the I. W. W. did not understand itself or the problem it was aiming to solve.

None of these predictions were verified. The question of "politics," a burning question up to and including the stormy Fourth convention (1908), was not discussed at all by the Sixth convention. Some local had proposed the following amendment to the I. W. W. Preamble: "Realizing the futility of parliamentary action, and recognizing the absolute necessity of the industrial union, we unite under the following constitution." Although it is safe to state that a large majority of the delegates were non-parliamentarians, the above proposition was voted down without discussion.

The question of the "general administration and the rank and file" was not so readily disposed of. Many proposed constitutional changes were brought before the convention, chiefly emanating from local unions in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states, all with a view to modifying or minimizing the power and privileges of the General Executive Board and the General Officers. Debate on these proposals lasted for several days. The relations of the different parts of the organization to each other were thoroughly threshed out. Misunderstandings were cleared up. All of the proposed amendments were voted down. Several delegates who came instructed by their local unions to vote for them, admitted that after due consideration and more enlightenment on the questions, they were opposed to their instructions, but none of these voted contrary to the wishes of their constituents.

As above stated, nearly all proposed changes in "behalf of the rank and file" came from western locals. In order that this may be clear to readers of the REVIEW, it may be well to point out here some of the sectional differences between the East and West.

That portion of the West between the Rockies and the Pacific is still an undeveloped country, vast in area and very thin in population. The principal industries are agriculture, lumbering and mining. All three, though more or less trustified, are undeveloped. Jobs are far apart. Workers, classed as unskilled, are compelled to

shift constantly from one section to another and from one industry to another. As a consequence, "mixed" or recruiting locals become a necessary feature of I. W. W. organization in the West; while INDUSTRIAL unions proper are difficult to form and still more difficult to maintain on account of their shifting constituencies. Moreover, the rough and ready life of the migratory worker tends to self-reliance and individualisms, which are far more pronounced in the West than in the East. Every member becomes an agitator, and many "soap-boxers" have been developed to carry the message of industrial freedom into every nook and corner of that section.

Strange as it may seem at first thought, this tendency to individualism has given rise to an undervaluation of individual initiative in the administrative affairs of the organization. It is apparently a case of being unable to see the forest for the trees. Since there are so many capable individuals in the West for secretaries, organizers, editors, etc., it follows logically in the minds of some that the I. W. W. everywhere should have a complete change of officers at least once a year in order that no individual may be tempted to usurp too much power. Again, the necessary "mixed" local form of union—on loose geographical lines—has stamped its character on the minds of our western members, and caused some of them to question the industrial form of organization with its proposed centralized administration.

Thus we see in the West, individualism in practice, combined with a theory of collective action that scoffs at individual or group initiative by general officers and executive boards, and conceives the possibility of "direct action" in all things through the "rank and file." Hence the proposal from several western locals to abolish conventions and inaugurate a system of legislating exclusively through the initiative and referendum. Hence also the proposals for rotation in office and for minimizing the power of the general administration.

On the other hand the eastern delegates bring to the convention different ideas acquired from a different environment. The East is a great beehive of industry highly developed and centralized. The worker in

a steel mill in Pittsburg, for example, knows that his employer is a gigantic corporation, which also employs miners in Minnesota. He does not, however, think of Minnesota or of Pennsylvania in a geographical sense. He thinks only of the steel trust. Locality is of little significance to him, though he may be anchored in one spot for life; the industry is everything. And since that industry is a trust, with centralized administration, the eastern worker naturally demands a similar organization among the wage slaves. He sees no chance for quick and effective action through the unwieldy method of legislating by referendum. Without the individualistic spirit himself, the eastern worker nevertheless recognizes the value of individual initiative in promoting mass action and in executing the mandates and requirements of the organization.

The problem before the Sixth convention was to preserve the balance between these two sets of ideas. In that, the convention succeeded admirably. While recognizing the need of local initiative and freedom of action, at the same time the convention insisted upon the equal necessity of preserving the integral organization, through a proper understanding and adjustment of the relations of one part to another—of the individual to the local, of the local to the general administration; and vice versa. The sum total of its conclusions along this line was that few constitutional changes are now necessary; that the I. W. W. is on a working basis and should direct all its energies toward organizing the One Big Union of the Working Class in the industries of the nation. On that basis the East

and the West came to a common understanding. Moreover, for the first time in an I. W. W. convention, they found fraternal delegates from the South, who were in enthusiastic accord with the same purpose. These were the representatives of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, who in only a few short months of experience in unionism have developed splendid fighting qualities in their combat with the lumber trust in Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas.

Little need be said of the personnel of the delegates to this convention. There were few striking contrasts among the men. Although here were fellow workers who had been active in the struggles of the old Knights of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners and other militant unions, and had gained much practical experience by the way, still in the eyes of the world at large they are "unknown men." "Intellectuals" were conspicuous by their absence. Most of the delegates were young men full of the fire and enthusiasm of youth; somewhat crude as to their knowledge of parliamentary usage, but very much in earnest in debating the welfare of the organization. They were I. W. W. men first, last and all the time, with a singleness of purpose that augurs well for the future of the economic movement.

Without presenting any marked contrasts or any striking incidents, the Sixth convention nevertheless has marked a distinct epoch in the development of the I. W. W. It has shown that the stormy periods and internal struggles of past years have not destroyed the vital principle of the organization; and that from now on the I. W. W. should move forward with increasing numbers and power.

Robert M. Lackey, secretary-treasurer Brotherhood of Machinists, writes: "I wish to commend you on the supreme excellence of your September issue. The REVIEW has been improving wonderfully with each issue. Your last number surpassed all the previous ones. Every one of the articles was timely, some right up to the minute and full of live interest."

# CAPITALISTIC "SOCIALISM"

BY

## WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

**S**UPPOSE things don't happen *exactly* the way we thought they would ten years ago.

Suppose the trusts decide that instead of swallowing up *all* the small capitalists it will be safer, after reaching a certain point, to check the extension of the trust principle on the economic field and apply it to politics.

Is it not highly probable that an effort is already being made to apply the "get together" idea to politics, and that the more far-sighted among the regular Republicans and conservative Democrats in private conferences are saying to "insurgents" and "progressives":

"We have the banks, railroads, mines, forests and leading industries; you have the votes and you will soon have the political power. Yet we are all capitalists. Why not get together? The thing to do now is to consolidate the capitalist class. What we need is a new combination wide enough to embrace all capitalists.

"As competitors we have you beaten. You will have to give up your dream of entering into business against us as independent competitors. Yet you may remain capitalists as investors. You may still be landlords whether in the city or country and have your tenants. As capitalist farmers, store-keepers or business-men, in those few branches we leave in your hands (because we are used to higher profits than they will yield), you purchase from us your tools and some of your materials. As small miners, lumber men, or farmers you sell us some of our raw material.

"Why not recognize that we have a monopoly in transportation, banking, smelting, steel-making, etc., etc.? Why should we not appoint special government boards to fix rates, prices, dividends and wages, and control these boards in common. Instead of restoring competition, protect us from competition and just look what we can offer in return.

"You will be protected as capitalist consumers (not ultimate consumers) against high tariffs, monopolistic prices, high transportation rates and high interest.

"When we are united we can trust the government to go into banking without monopolizing it. This means that it will lend us the people's credit at low rates.

"Such a safe and stable government will also use its credit, sovereign power and right of eminent domain to build us canals and roads, improve waterways, undertake billions of dollars worth of investment in reclamation by drainage and irrigation of waste lands, scientific utilization of water power, mines and forests, etc. We may even find it more profitable as they have in Germany to entrust it with the railroads, workingmen's insurance, etc.

"We will be glad to allow such a government to protect your interest as investors. This will insure us a steady stream of capital to build up the new system and will guarantee us your political support. Indeed there is no reason why the government cannot *guarantee* all the securities of business over which it has such firm control.

"Some of you are well paid professional men and corporation or government employees. We can act together through such a government to see that retail prices also do not rise. This will also protect the recipient's fixed incomes from investments. In other words we are willing to protect all the ultimate consumers from a rise in prices. We can take it out of the wage-earners by lowering wages, but you are protected from excessive competition among yourselves by the increasing need of a higher technical education in your occupations and the increasing cost of obtaining it. We will furnish free schools, but the courses will be so long that it will be utterly impossible for the working people to support their children there until they are 20, 25, or even 30 years old as is sometimes necessary (if we add to the school years the several years of unremunerative experience required in hospitals, laboratories, etc.).

"Then we are all taxpayers. The new government enterprises will be so profitable that we can soon relieve all your taxes altogether. If there is any difficulty the government can take the *future* increase in the value of city lands—as they already are doing in Germany and England. This will bring in billions every year and will hurt nobody.

"When we are all working together it will be useful to install a little more "democracy"—not industrial, you understand, but political—for example the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. We may even call a constitutional convention and abolish the political power of the Supreme Court.

"Of course we can't have a majority of the *people*, but we can easily get a majority of the *voters*. With negroes and foreigners disenfran-

chised, the poll-tax requirement, the law that the workers must live several months in the place where they vote, and the educational test, 50 per cent of the adult male workers are already without votes. It is now proposed to make naturalization more difficult while Dr. Lyman Abbott in the progressive *Outlook* wants the Southern laws disfranchising the negroes turned against the northern whites, and Prof. E. A. Ross in La Follette's insurgent weekly wants workingmen to be required to *read* before they can vote. We run no danger from labor in a single state of the Union and if they capture a few minor cities we can easily deprive those of such home rule as they now enjoy. By rounding out this kind of democracy we can give you small capitalists the best possible pledge that we will not deceive you. The political power will remain largely in your hands.

"As to the labor policy—are we not already agreed that what we want is a scientific combination of the principles of Civic Federation and the Manufacturers' Association, such as has already been adopted by the railroads and the Harvester Trust?"

Can any close observer doubt that the Insurgents and Regulars, progressives and conservatives are already getting together on the platform of capitalistic "State Socialism"? This combination is now taking place in France and Germany and it will soon take place here—whether under Woodrow Wilson, in 1912, or Roosevelt or La Follette, in 1916, is a secondary question.

The above is not an imaginary conversation. It is very nearly what is actually occurring in the private conferences between Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and what they call "the good trust magnates." Already they have announced half of the program in their speeches and it is only necessary to read between the lines to see what the other half is.

Now what does this mean to Socialists? It means that while we were formerly fighting individualist Capitalism, competition on one hand and the trusts on the other, we are now fighting collectivist capitalism, "State Socialism," that is the capitalist class for the first time *consolidated*, and for the first time *in complete possession of the government*. It means, therefore, that however much we feel that the carrying out of this program will facilitate our own action, it is none of our business. We watched anxiously and with approval the formation of the trusts, but we did nothing and could do nothing to help them along. The same is true of the economic and political consolidation of the capitalist class that is now

taking place. *Our task is not to bring about capitalist collectivism, but to convert it into Socialist collectivism.*

But this is the negative lesson we are taught. There is also a positive one. I have purposely touched only lightly on the State Capitalist (or "State Socialist") Labor program. At this point we have not only a program, but a whole new capitalist philosophy to guide us. The "State Socialist" policy towards Labor is entirely summed up in the "Gospel of Efficiency" of which "Scientific Management" is only one branch.

This "gospel of efficiency" is representative of the capitalism of the future. Formerly we heard only the gospel of success: let each individual rise from his class and leave nobody except despicable inferiors behind. But the sun of individualism has set, and now even the capitalists are becoming "Socialists." The working people are being advised by their very masters to seek their salvation *without* endeavoring to leave their class, i. e., they are to look for favors from a benevolent capitalistic government.

It is not the advocates of "Scientific Management" alone that are now preaching the gospel of efficiency and class salvation. All the "Socialistic" reformers are off on the same tack. Workingmen's insurance, a minimum wage, government employment for the unemployed, a shorter working day by law, etc., are all advocated on the ground that it can be shown that though they lead to an increase of wages, they lead to a more rapid increase of profits. The new "Socialistic" Capitalists have made up their minds, apparently, that the time has come to allow wages to rise slowly—faster even than the cost of living. The reason they have reached this conclusion is that a greater efficiency of labor, even if it can be obtained only with a *real* raise of wages (*i. e.*, faster than prices), is the best remaining way by which profits can be further increased.

Another purpose of this new capitalist doctrine is to shelve all measures that really aim at the redistribution of wealth and democratisation of society by increasing the political and economic power of the masses when compared with that of the capitalists. The reformers argue that any plan that can be devised which will increase real

wages 5 per cent and profits 10 per cent will surely decrease strikes and bring about relative peace between capital and labor.

"The science of management" is a proposal that labor should be systematically and scientifically studied and directed, like the manufacture of steel or of chemicals. Its advocates say that the new methods are "as revolutionary in increasing output as the introduction of machinery was." And it seems to be a demonstrated fact that, in many instances, the product of each laborer has, by these methods, been increased by two or three fold.

National attention was first called to the matter when the very latest and most fashionable "reformer," Louis Brandeis, argued last year before the Interstate Commerce Commission that by these means the railroads could save a million dollars a day. Perhaps the most enthusiastic advocate of this reform, which it is hoped may weaken labor union agitation and distract attention from the labor question is Mr. Roosevelt's organ, *The Outlook*.

"With the introduction of scientific management," writes Mr. Ernest Abbott in *The Outlook*, "the relation between employer and employe is transformed. Their mutual interests become identical."

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that it is really a technical revolution in industry that we are facing. We have already passed through a number of technical revolutions without the interests of the employer and the employe becoming identical or in any way closer than they were before.

Scientific management and the gospel of efficiency do not necessarily imply more speed, overstrain and an earlier death for the laborer. On the contrary, if the labor supply continues to be limited, as it is now by keeping Asiatic labor out of the market, there is no reason to doubt that the whole capitalistic attitude towards labor will soon be revolutionized. While land or coal or labor were cheap the capitalist policy was to use up all of these raw materials without regard to waste. But as soon as the supply is nearly exhausted, a diametrically opposite policy, that of conservation, is pursued: the land or the coal or the labor, as the case may be, begins to be saved. *The time has come in nearly every country where not only the saving of labor while in the fac-*

*tory, but the saving of the labor supply, i. e., of the laborer, is a good capitalist policy.*

This saving of the laborer is the essential element of the gospel of efficiency. If the laborer becomes at all scarce, the capitalist will take precious pains to save him, just as the slaveholders saved the slaves, not only while he is at work but throughout his whole lifetime. Mr. Hyman Strunsky has pointed out (in his article on Welfare Work in "The Coming Nation") how the factory inspector of Rhode Island and other authorities have shown the capitalists that the time has come when they must save their working people just as they have always saved their "cattle and horses."

One of the leaders of the new movement, E. P. Stimson, guaranteed to show a committee of the House of Representatives that under the new system a four-hour day could be established and still the profits of capital be increased. Most of its advocates favor an eight-hour day on the ground that it would increase the working life of the now valuable laborer. All of them favor workingmen's insurance, since they know that all the government does for the laborer enables them to pay that much less wages (though the decrease is not sufficient entirely to negative the worker's benefit), while it removes innumerable individual grievances which interfere with efficiency. All of them, of course, favor industrial education. As to the taxes required to support such sweeping reforms, the capitalists will not grudge them if they are certain to get the benefit—for which they must wait until the children are grown up or until the time arrives when "conserved" workingmen would have been thrown on the scrap heap—a period that is from ten to twenty years.

Mr. Brandeis calls Workingmen's Insurance "The Road to Social Efficiency," i. e., it is simply the principle of industrial efficiency applied by the government. He argues that "if society and industry and the individual were made to pay from day to day the actual cost of sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death, or premature old age consequent upon excessive hours of labor, of unhygienic conditions of work, of unnecessary risks, and of irregularity of employment those evils would be rapidly reduced"; and he proves his point by showing

the rapid decrease of fires where the manufacturers have established mutual fire insurance. In other words the government established a law by which employers are automatically penalized when they try to take advantage of the employing class by wasting the labor supply.

The Civic Federation and reformers all over the country favor the establishment of a minimum wage by law in the sweated industries. In England the law is already in successful operation. It enables the large manufacturers, the owners of power machinery, to put their foot-power competitors out of business, as the latter can't afford to pay the minimum wage.

In Great Britain the government also proposes to solve the unemployed problem. Those who can't be used as servants, soldiers or sailors, according to the new Development Bill and other schemes are, with the consent of the Labor Party, to be compelled to work on roads, re-forestration, etc. Thus money will be saved in almshouses, work-houses, jails and hospitals, while the wages paid will not be high enough to raise the general level. There will be not only as many but more scabs furnished by this semi-convict employment as come now from the army of the unemployed. In fact it has been proposed in Hungary that this new army of labor be loaned to the farmers in harvest times. Would this idea not be popular in Kansas and Iowa? Moreover if desertions are common in our regular army, which spends part of its time on parade, would they not be wholesale from any army that works every hour—especially when the prices of strike-breakers ranged high?

But the heart of the whole "benevolent" labor policy is best seen in its effect on wages. There is no more doubt that it will raise them than that the introduction of machinery had this effect. But machinery increased the strength of capitalism ten-fold and scientific management and "labor reforms" will have the same result, unless they are accompanied by the better political and economic organization of labor. The great scientific manager, Frederick W. Taylor, showed the pig-iron handlers how to increase their output of labor 362 per cent and gave them a 61 per cent increase in wages. In other words one-sixth of the

benefits of the reform went to labor and five-sixths to capital. That is the economic superiority of capital over labor was made five times greater than it was before. Similarly if we figured out the ultimate results of all the labor reforms proposed by the capitalists (say after ten years' trial) we would probably find similar results. And even if some reform should chance to give a little more to labor than to capital we would find that a dozen others had been enacted at the same time which gave several times more to capital and proved the rule.

It is a conflict, a class-struggle. Labor advances sometimes more rapidly, sometimes less, but Capital is all the time gaining on Labor and will continue to gain more rapidly than ever under the "State Socialist" regime I have been describing—*except as the labor unions and the Socialist Party grow stronger*. This will not mean that these organizations can win anything of importance now—*beyond these reforms that the "State Socialists" will introduce without a struggle* (though not without some discussion and polite disagreement). It will mean that the day when a successful revolution is possible has drawn that much nearer.

As a part of the labor reform program, as suggested by both La Follette and Woodrow Wilson, the rights of labor organizations will be somewhat extended. Boycotts will be allowed and injunctions and "conspiracy" practically abolished—as in England—where, after all, the unions don't seem to be much freer or more advanced than they are here. At the same time compulsory "investigation" and, if necessary, compulsory arbitration, will be extended from the railways to the mines and all other industries where the stoppage of work would seriously inconvenience *the capitalist class as a whole* (i. e., including the Progressives and Insurgents). Unions will be permitted among Government employes as Mr. La Follette demands, and as is already the case in France. But, as in France, they will not be permitted to strike. As to the boycott, it can't do much harm to the capitalists as a whole—so much less meat sold, so much more fish and eggs. As a weapon against the meat trust it might do, as a weapon against the capitalist class as a whole it is not very deadly (though it can

be very useful against small shop-keepers, professional men, etc., with whom we deal and who must be disciplined when they try to desert our cause). As to labor organizations then there will be no backward step, merely the substitution of a more or less compulsory arbitration for the injunction and the Sherman law—greater freedom in small strikes, less in large ones.

It is difficult to see why Labor should be alarmed at such a revolution in the capitalist attitude as now confronts us. Better conditions generally ought immensely to strengthen the labor movement in every way—unless *the working people are such slaves at heart that they will not revolt as long as their conditions improve slightly from year to year*. Assume that the science of labor management of the gospel of efficiency and capitalistic “Socialistic” reform double *real wages* and increase profits four-fold. According to the Civic Federation argument and that of Mr. Gompers, this would be sufficient ground why labor and capital should be absolute friends during the whole period while this was being brought about. Such a progress, would, indeed, destroy unions resting on the old basis, for all they demand, as Mr. Gompers has often said, is “more”—and from his actions no one can doubt that what he meant was “a little more.” If they get this from year to year he will be satisfied.

Those unions, on the other hand, which ask for a fairer *division* of the product and aim steadily at *the overthrow of capitalism in government* will use the new strength they may gain from such reforms and technical revolutions to strengthen their demand for industrial democracy and economic equality. As long as capitalism is getting a larger and larger *share* of the product, it will be a matter of entirely secondary importance to them that their income also is increasing slightly from year to year. For they will realize that as long as the percentage of the total product going to the capitalists rises, it is their political and economic power that increases and not that of the workers.

The possessors of capital and of an expensive education will continue under capitalistic “Socialism” as at present as long as this system lasts to enjoy an income many times as great as that of the

laborers. They will continue, directly or indirectly, to control the government, and though they form less than a third of the population, their children will continue to monopolize 99 per cent of the better positions in society, to enjoy grossly unequal incomes, to direct the community according to their own interests and ideas, and to pass these powers and privileges on to their children after them.

No revolution in industry, and no revolution in government (even a constitutional convention) can protect us from a constantly hardening caste system unless it is consciously directed to improving the condition and increasing the power of the exploited mass *more rapidly* than it adds to the wealth and power of the ruling class.

The coming political trust, the consolidation of the capitalist class in politics, will teach the workers far better than would the swallowing up of the small capitalists by the large. Until now many workers have believed that the enemy was not the capitalist class as a whole but the trusts, or the big employers or those capitalists who happened to be employers. The small capitalists or even the “middle-sized” (merely millionaires, not billionaires), the competitors of the trusts used labor for their purposes. Each group of capitalists persuaded the workers to look for their enemies “higher up.” This deception is no longer possible.

As long as the capitalists were divided reforms were delayed. Now that the large and small capitalists have got together in France and England and are getting together in this country under Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, *the reforms will be put into execution instead of being held out to the laborers as rewards if they voted “right.”* No reform has even obtained a public hearing which does not offer more to the capitalists than to the workers, but the workers were afraid they might not get even the little they were offered. The capitalists had not yet agreed on a political policy and all reforms were delayed.

But now that all such reforms as government ownership, workingmen’s insurance, the eight-hour law, and government work for the unemployed are being actually carried out, the workers will see that the capitalists are getting the lion’s share from

every one of them. They will understand that even if the workers were disfranchised, without labor organizations, or in actual slavery it would pay an organized capitalist class to introduce these reforms.

With the economic and political consolidation of the capitalist class the workers are restored to their position under chattel slavery—with the sole difference that they are now slaves of no individual, but of the consolidated capitalist class and government. They have become the most valuable property the capitalists have—more valuable than either their slaves of yesterday or their mines, railroads and mills today. They must be better bred, better educated for industry, better managed, less wasted.

Every reform which improves the condition and efficiency of the workers is good capitalist policy provided it does not improve the position of their economic and political organizations.

It might be thought that what aids the worker aids his organization. But this is an illusion. All over the world the workers' condition is being gradually improved. But everywhere his organizations, economic and political, are being more and more restricted—as to their power of achieving results under the present system. This restriction is possible because, though the workers are

slowly getting more, they are getting a smaller share of the product, Capitalism is strengthening itself economically at five or ten times the speed.

Here, then, is the benefit of "State Socialism"—as an object lesson!

*Every reform that is enacted will teach the workers that while they are moving forward they are losing in the race.*

*They will take their eyes off their grievances and rivet them on their employers' gains.*

*They will cease asking the employer to make good their losses and will concentrate their attention on forcing him to divide up his profits.*

*They will remember that there is no end to the amount of capital a good breeder will invest in his horses or the reforms he will undertake as long as they continue to become more valuable and their working efficiency continues to increase.*

*They will see that all economic reforms apply equally well to working cattle as to men and that manhood begins with self-government.*

*They will learn from actual trial that the only measures that advance us towards Socialism are those that take industry and government out of the hands of the capitalists and hand them over to the workers.*

Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106.—The October REVIEWS to hand and I assure you that it has been commented upon by all of the comrades and in their estimation it is one of the best pieces of Socialist ammunition that has come before their notice in some time.

E. J. M., Sec'y.

Northville, Mich.—The REVIEWS are beginning to do the business in this locality and we expect to organize a local here in a very short time. Send 25 October numbers at once.

L. C. C.

Warren, Ohio.—Enclosed find \$5.00 for 100 October REVIEWS. We had a good meeting today and sold all of the REVIEWS in five minutes.

G. S.

# EDITORIAL

**Capitalistic "Socialism."**—In the article under this heading which will be found elsewhere in this month's REVIEW, Comrade Walling has rendered a distinct service to the Socialist Party. His detailed analysis of the industrial and political situation confirms our conclusion expressed in the editorial department for September. Our old propaganda against competition and individualism has done its work, and to continue it is a waste of breath. Competition and individualism are dead and no one knows this so well as the successful capitalist. *The time has come for a radical change in the tactics of the Socialist Party, to meet radically changed conditions.* Our platform of 1908 was adopted by referendum with only a few dissenting votes, because to most of us it seemed in line with our economic interests at that time. Fortunately it embodied an analysis of capitalist society in the light of the writings of Marx and Engels, and the swift developments of the last three and a half years have made the truth of this analysis more evident than ever. But it also contained a "Program," at least half of which has been taken over bodily by the up-to-date politicians of capitalism.

**Some of Our Demands Out of Date.**—We must wake up to the fact that the capitalists through THEIR government will, in their own interest, put through many of the reforms which we advocated in 1908. If knowing this we still emphasize these demands rather than the class struggle, we shall be turning our backs on the historic task of the Socialist Party, and we shall merely be making votes. And the joke of it is that if we are foolish and cowardly enough to take this course we shall not even succeed in making votes for ourselves. The votes will go to LaFollette or Champ Clark or whatever old-party politician happens to head the new movement toward state capitalism. Let us briefly review the numbered demands in our program of 1908, and see how they have stood the test of three and a half years.

1. The United States government is already making immense expenditures on the Panama Canal and preparing on a gigantic scale for the development of Alaska. Labor conditions for Americans in Panama are fairly good. We must keep our emphasis on the demand for better working conditions and we should add an explicit demand for the right to organize.

2. Capitalist politicians are already uniting in support of a parcels post bill and it is probable that the express business will soon be operated by the government. Meanwhile Hitchcock is exploiting the postal clerks as mercilessly as any trust magnate. To our demand for the collective ownership of the transportation industry we must add a demand for its control by the workers.

3. President Gary of the steel trust has given out a significant interview showing that he and his fellow magnates would welcome regulation by a capitalist government, so far as prices go. But this same steel trust crushes relentlessly any attempt on the part of its laborers to exercise the slightest control over working conditions. Here again collective ownership without democratic control by the people who do the work will be a hollow sham so far as the workers are concerned.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power is an assured fact. The important question is, what will be the condition of the wage-workers who develop and exploit these natural resources?

5. The same may be said of timber lands and swamp lands. It makes very little difference to the working class whether these lands are worked for the benefit of a few robber magnates or for the capitalist class as a whole. The important question for us is: What do WE get?

6. Freedom of press, speech and assemblage is and will continue to be a demand so important that we can not possibly emphasize it too much.

7. A shorter workday is a demand that is fundamental and revolutionary, and it has not yet had the attention in our propaganda that it deserves. We shall have more to say of this in the near future. Factory inspection will for the most part be a farce till the workers choose the inspectors and these work with the unions, but any more stringent laws along this line may be useful later and are well worth demanding. Child labor laws are good, but they need the help of strong industrial unions to enforce them. State insurance and old age pensions will soon be proposed by the capitalists in their own interest. We should not fall over ourselves with delight at the first proposal of this kind, but should scrutinize every measure and try to safeguard in every way possible the right of the laborers in each industry to a voice in the details of any such scheme.

8. A graduated inheritance tax in so far as it hastens the "dividing up" of great fortunes, would help make the new feudalism stronger and more stable, and would probably operate in a decidedly reactionary fashion. We should drop it from our list of demands.

9. The same may be said of a graduated income tax. This whole question of taxation is something over which we may well leave the various sections of the capitalist class to wrangle.

10. Woman suffrage is undoubtedly coming, and all socialists favor it, but it is not necessary for us to emphasize it to the exclusion of the class struggle. The working woman should remember that her interests are identical with those of the working man and diametrically opposed to those of the capitalist woman.

11. The initiative, referendum and recall are coming, yet we may well insist on them. We tried a crude form of proportional representation in our own organization, and then repealed it instead of amending it. We should either introduce this principle into our constitution or take it out of our platform.

12, 13 and 14. To abolish the senate, to take away the supreme power of the supreme court and to make the United States constitution amendable by majority vote, will all be incidents of the proletarian revolution when it comes, but they will not be possible until the workers are strong enough to "seize the whole power of government." The constitution of the United States is the greatest bulwark of international capitalism; with capitalism it will stand or fall.

15. A federal health bureau may save much

suffering among workers. But federal control of education would be welcomed gleefully by the capitalists if we began to control some state and local governments and to introduce any teachings into the schools that were opposed to capitalist ethics. Half of this demand should be cut out.

16. A department of labor with its head appointed by an old-party president, would, if it became active at all, be a dangerous enemy to the working class. Why we ever let this demand go through is a mystery. Perhaps some of our delegates at the convention scented a possible job, and the rest of us were asleep.

17. The election of judges and the abolition of injunctions is a blow at a weak spot in the capitalist government and this demand is worth keeping.

18. "The free administration of justice" sounds well but means little to the wage-worker. To make it mean something, let us demand, for example, that every jury be selected by lot from the polling list, instead of allowing bailiffs as at present to exclude workingmen from juries when a workingman is being tried.

Our convention next spring must wrestle with the platform question, and it is none too soon for the rank and file to begin discussing it. We can make a platform that will attract "all the people," especially petty capitalists, or we can make a clear-cut, revolutionary platform that will stir the fighting spirit of the workers. Which shall it be?

**Cleveland, Ohio.**—Fighting Magazine is our favorite here. We recognize its great value to the movement and have put it on sale everywhere.  
T. C.

**Toledo, Ohio.**—Last three numbers of the REVIEW are fine! "What Comes of Playing the Game" raises the author about 100 per cent in the estimation of many.  
J. B.

**Elyria, Ohio.**—We sold 275 October REVIEWS at our Debs meeting, which was the greatest gathering of people ever assembled in Elyria to hear a political speaker. E. E. R.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Capitalist War and Socialist Theories.**—European statesmen may not be interested in Socialist theories. They certainly do not go about their business for the purpose of proving the truth of Marxian formulas. But if this were their chief purpose in life they could do little better than they have been doing during these past three months. Marx said that governments are committees for the guarding of capitalist interests. And international wars, he maintained, are carried on for the sake of serving the interests of the big business men of one nation as against those of another. This is Socialist theory.

Here are the capitalist governments. Some thirty years ago France and England both had "interests" in Egypt. England took Egypt for her very own and gave to France Algiers and Morocco. These latter countries did not belong to England, but that didn't matter. France had the right of way within their borders. The Spanish had "interests" on the west coast of Morocco. Finally French and Spanish "interests" clashed. By this time the Germans had cultivated Moroccan trade, and the German government was quick to see that the "interests" of the fatherland did not suffer at the hands of foreign powers. So the agreement of Algeciras was signed. According to this sacred agreement France had a sort of protectorate over a part of Morocco. The French companies, in their eagerness to get the most out of the bargain that had been made for them, got outside the territory allotted to them.

This was Germany's chance. A gunboat, the property of the German nation, was sent to Agadir. "Conversations" were immediately started. It was finally arranged that Morocco was to be turned over absolutely to the mercies of French capital and that German capital should have a large slice of territory out of the Soudan country. All the war talk, all the excitement, all the manipulation of government machinery, was for the purpose of getting for the capitalists of each na-

tion as big a place as possible for the exploitation of defenseless natives.

But now the wily Italian saw a chance to get in his work. While all the world was thinking about Morocco he slipped his hand over and grabbed Tripoli. It was easy. Poor old Turkey had hardly the ghost of an army to put up a defense. It cost little and will be immensely to the advantage of Italian interests. Tripoli offers five well worn routes into central Africa. More than this, along the coast are rich lands which offer an inviting home to poor Italian emigrants. Every year 20,000 Sicilian peasants have been coming to America. Here they are exploited by American capital. If they go to the shores of Tripoli, and Italy controls Tripoli, they will be exploited by Italian capital. It is all very easy and very profitable.

The strange thing is that all this great, charitable, enlightened world of ours has looked on without protest or wonder. All the countries involved send representatives to the Hague conferences and only recently signed the great arbitration agreement. But no one suggested the possibility of arbitrating the conflicting interests of big business. It was taken for granted everywhere that the strongest would get what he wanted. American papers even poked fun at the Italian government for killing so few human beings in their inhuman business.

Marx is in his grave. Bourgeois economists tell us that his theories have been buried deeper than his bones. But they live again in every deed of the capitalist governments of Europe.

But in all this scene of inhuman selfishness there are unmistakable signs of hope for the suffering nations. The working-class has not been carried away by the war fever as it was in 1871 or even as late as 1898. Millions of workers in Germany, France, and Italy declared for peace. At the congress of Jena the German Social Democratic Party called upon German workers to use "every possible means to

prevent an international war." And the governments heard the call. The capitalist class the world over realizes that it faces a new situation. A few more years of agitation and education and there will be no more wars in the civilized world, for the working-class will refuse to fight.

**Germany, The Social Democratic Congress.**—The German Social Democratic Party has near a million members and an organization which cannot find its equal in the world. The ability of individual members and the discipline and energy of the membership as a whole long ago made this organization the ideal of hosts of Socialists the world over. But of late more than one American Socialist has begun to fear that the Social Democracy is too much like other things German; too bureaucratic; too much ruled from the top down. And it must be admitted that there has been some basis for this fear.

To many American Socialists, then, the accounts of doings at the last German Socialist Congress must have come as a welcome relief. For at Jena, where this congress was held, it was proved that German Socialism is more than an petrified embodiment of Marxism. It was proved that German Socialists do not believe, at least not all of them, that we have the revolution all prepared in our platforms and programs ready to apply at a moment's notice. It was proved, moreover, that German Socialism is very much alive; alive, in particular, to new ways of thinking and acting which the working-class of the world is hammering out for itself in the heat of its gigantic conflict with capitalism.

"Never in recent years has a Socialist congress gathered in an hour so big with fateful issues," says *Vorwaerts*. And this statement is not beyond the mark. The delegates had little time for idle theorizing. They had to consider the possibility of a war and the certainty of an imperial election. The peculiar state of affairs within the party, moreover, gave to the discussions and decisions of this congress more than usual importance.

At last year's congress, it will be remembered, there was a sharp division between revolutionists and revisionists. The former gained their point in the matter

of the Socialist attitude toward capitalist budgets, and the latter withdrew for a time from the convention hall. The executive committee of the party, containing many of the old war-horses, was, of course, on the revolutionary side.

This year the chief conflict was along a new line of cleavage; or at least along a line which has only recently come to be of equal importance with that between revolutionist and revisionist. During the past year Comrade Rosa Luxemburg has been carrying on a vigorous campaign in favor of the general strike as a weapon against international war. She has accused the party leaders of cowardice, of old-fogyism, of parliamentary fetish-worship. Comrade Carl Kautsky replied with all his usual learning and skill in argument. For many weeks their battle raged in *Die Neue Zeit* and other journals. The weight of numbers seemed to be against Comrade Luxemburg, nevertheless she carried her fight, on a new point which had just arisen, into the Jena congress. At Jena, then, the representatives of accepted German Socialist theory and tactics found themselves pitted not so much against revisionists as against ultra-revolutionists. The old center had to defend itself, not against the extreme right, but against the extreme left.

The point at issue was the part which the executive committee played in relation to the Moroccan war scare. The committee was charged with failing to make the most of the opportunities presented by the danger of war. It was said that the moment of real danger was allowed to pass before mass meetings were held or literature distributed. And the chief leaflet prepared was said to be weak and inadequate. At the bottom of all this, it was charged, was fear of losing votes in the coming election. These charges were supported by Comrades Clara Zetkin, Ledebour, and others.

The committee, led by Comrade Bebel, replied that Comrade Luxemburg had acted disloyally in entering upon a criticism of the committee's work at the time when the anti-war agitation was at its height. It was contended, moreover, that the committee had acted wisely in waiting till it could see whether war was

actually imminent. And as for the anti-war leaflet, it was intended for outsiders and was written to win them rather than to repel them.

The discussion lasted two days. At the conclusion of it the resolutions against the executive were withdrawn. The opposition comrades announced that open discussion of party affairs was all they desired. The whole affair was, of course, displayed in the capitalist papers. It was prophesied, as it always is, that the Socialist movement was about to die of internal strife. But the result cannot be other than a good one. In fact, before the congress adjourned a motion was carried to appoint a commission to consider the advisability of a general reorganization of the party.

The action taken with regard to the Moroccan danger is recorded on another page. The only other matter of equal importance on the program was the approaching Reichstag election. It seems tolerably certain now that the great electoral battle will occur in January next. In 1907 the Social Democracy gained votes and lost seats. So uneven is the distribution of seats in proportion to population that it has now only about half the Reichstag places to which it is entitled. The Liberal-Conservative bloc, the so-called Hottentot combination, which resulted from the election of 1907 soon went to pieces because there were represented in it several irreconcilable groups of society. Retrograde feudal lords and modern business men could not get on together. There followed this bloc one dominated by the Clericals. So reactionary has been the Clerical rule, so deaf to any demands of the people, that every new local election has meant a victory for the Socialists.

And now all eyes are turned toward the election of a new Reichstag. All signs go to show that the group of comrades in the German lower house will be doubled. All the forces of reaction are worked overtime. Slander and coercion are resorted to. It is anything and everything to beat Socialism. Our German comrades, for their part, are fully alive to the situation. Ruthlessly they are showing up the class legislation put through by the present

Reichstag. The high tariff law, the new police code, the huge naval and military appropriations are being unmasked and displayed in all their capitalistic ugliness.

Upon the annual congress devolved the duty of marking out the lines of the campaign and starting off the momentum of a great national enthusiasm. This duty was performed in a way which promises brilliant success all along the line. The resolutions on this subject were introduced by Comrade Bebel. They laid down in detail the tactics to be adopted at the polls. There is to me no compromise or amalgamation with any other party whatsoever, at the first elections. At second elections, in case Socialist voters are forced to choose between two capitalist candidates, they are to cast their ballots for the one who will sign a pledge to support certain advanced measures. In case no capitalist candidate will consent to do this Socialists are to refrain from voting.

When Bebel closed his great speech with the words: "Forward to battle! March! On to victory!" his voice echoed from one end of Germany to the other. The next three months will see in the old fatherland such a political battle as the working-class has never fought before.

**England. Trade Unions Learning Their Lesson.**—The forty-fourth conference of English trade unions met at Newcastle early in September. The working-class of England still felt flushed with the sense of power which it discovered during the great railway strike. The bourgeois world had hardly recovered from the state of panic into which it had been thrown. All eyes naturally turned to the congress for a sign. The workers expected, or had a right to expect, some new recognition, some adequate formulation, of their new fighting spirit. The capitalists looked eagerly and fearfully to see whether this new spirit was to become the regular thing, whether the revolutionary strike is to become the settled program of the English working-class.

The REVIEW will not be guilty of betraying any secrets when it records the fact that all parties were disappointed. The new fighting spirit was evident in the deliberations of the congress. But

the delegates did not definitely embody this new spirit in any revolutionary action. They seemed timid. Or perhaps they were confused by the magnitude and suddenness of the things that had happened. At any rate they did not rise to the occasion.

One good and clear action the conference did take. It denounced unreservedly the new Labor Disputes Bill recently introduced into the House of Commons by Labor member Will Crooks. In doing this it was following the lead of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, which recently proclaimed that "nothing worse could have emanated from the most bitter enemy of trade unionism." This precious measure is practically a denial of the right to strike. Just now when all the powers of capitalism are determined to wrest the most effective weapon from the hands of the working-class such a bill from the hand of a labor parliamentarian is the worst kind of class treachery. It is refreshing to know that the working-class

of English is alive to the issues involved.

The spirit of the delegates found expression, too, in a resolution on the great strike. The railway men were congratulated on their success and workers everywhere were encouraged to follow their example. But this is where the matter ended. It was said in more than one form and on more than one occasion that what is needed is the strike by industries rather than by crafts. There were good words in plenty. But as for reorganization or a definite change of tactics,—well, that will come sometime. Englishmen pride themselves on not learning too fast.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS—TOLEDO, OHIO.

**Socialist Politics in Toledo.**—The growth of the Socialist movement in Toledo has been normal and steady. There has been nothing spectacular about the campaign conducted by the party in Toledo. We are not the kind that march to the blare of the trumpet and the beat of the drum, but little by little the working class is being educated to the meaning of the class struggle, its class interests and class solidarity.

Less than ten short years ago the Socialist Party here consisted of a group of ten or twelve men who met in a doctor's office. At the last state election we cast more than 13 per cent of the total vote cast for governor and this fall we entered the primaries.

Our problem is peculiar to ourselves. We live in Golden Rule Toledo, whose mayor is a philosophical anarchist and mistaken for a Socialist. It is strange, but true, that the workers have to be shown that their condition if not a whit better under the independent administration than it has been under former Republican and Democratic administrations. We are constantly asked, "Isn't Brand Whitlock a Socialist?" Then we are obliged to show the difference between a man who holds good private views but must be conservative in order to keep in office and an administration *by, of and for* the working class.

Three years ago the Toledo Labor Congress, a delegated body of trade unionists, endorsed the Socialist legislative candidates. The clearest heads in the party said that Socialists had no right to work for the election of certain candidates, that our mission is to educate the

workers to want Socialism rather than to catch their votes for four candidates. The clear heads advised letting the trade unions alone in their endorsement, but some of our members thought that they could be vote-enticers and educators at the same time. Shortly before election the union leaders began to inquire, "Who is going to get the credit if these men are elected?" These same leaders were telling the people on the street corners that they wanted to elect these men for the benefit of the working class. The clear heads kept preaching away that the Socialist party is not a mere vote-catching machine; that the labor congress should be allowed to endorse if it saw fit, but that Socialists in the unions could not consistently aid in a campaign that stood for four Socialists on one hand, endorsed the record of a Democratic congressman on the other and failed to mention any candidates for the other offices. Such teaching as that offended the politicians in the labor congress, but by another two years it had taken root, and when the labor congress endorsed James P. Egan, president of the C. L. U., for the state legislature on the Independent and Democratic tickets and Fred Shane for state senator, the rank and file of our party was ready to declare the labor congress a capitalist political party and to request Socialists who were delegates from their unions to withdraw. The labor congress then challenged the party to debate with Shane and Egan on the question, "Resolved, That the Toledo Socialist Party is not a political party, but is a mere school room for the study of economics and as such can

never effect any remedial legislation for the working class." The day set for the debate came and the hall was packed by trade unionists. Socialists, old party politicians, doctors, lawyers, in short, men and women from every rank and profession and political party. Mr. Shane dealt in personalities and told the audience how he had been abused by certain members of the party. Mr. Egan tried to read his speech and failed; the unfeeling audience hooted. The débate helped to defeat these men and increased the Socialist vote.

Local Toledo conducts a local paper, the *Arm and Torch*, published by the Socialist Cooperative Publishing Company of Findlay, Ohio. Several years ago, when *The Socialist* was published here, we found that the capitalist papers were very careful about criticising the party, or its methods, because we had a medium through which to answer back, but as soon as the paper left the attacks began. We find it highly essential to the local situation to maintain a paper.

Toledo Socialists lay great stress on the importance of literature distribution. Ohio will have a constitutional convention in January and Local Toledo initiated a referendum proposing that the Socialist constitutional program for New Mexico be made the program for Ohio. It carried. Toledo will distribute more than 10,000 copies of this program. Our municipal platform will be distributed by the thousands.

We expect to elect councilmen from several wards that are distinctly working class in their population.—J. B.

**From the New York Call.**—Comrade Frank McDonald, editor of the *New York Call*, writes to the REVIEW denying the accuracy of a statement made in last month's issue by Comrade Robert J. Wheeler, to the effect that articles written for the *Call* by the late Comrade Duchez were censored. Comrade McDonald states that during his term as Sunday editor he did not subject Comrade Duchez's writings to censorship or mutilation in any form. If the REVIEW has caused any misapprehension in regard to the splendid work Comrade McDonald is doing on the *Call*, we take this opportunity to assure them that he is one of our ablest and most efficient workers and that, as editor of the *Call*, he is trying to make that paper a reflection of the whole socialist and labor movement, irrespective of the tactical differences of opinion entertained by the two wings of the party. We are also assured by our friends in New York that Comrade Duchez was not tried there for "heresy" and we are glad to correct this error.

**Saginaw, Mich.**—Enclosed find another dollar for another bundle of October Reviews as early as possible. We certainly appreciate your tribute to our late Comrade Louis Duchez, as he also lived and worked for humanity in this city.

E. W. L.

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J. W. W.

**Hamilton, Ohio.**—Send 25 more REVIEWS at once. This makes my third order.

J. H.

#### A Letter from Comrade Hyndman.

Dear Comrade, the following statement appears at p. 183 of your REVIEW for the current month:

"It will be remembered that at its Easter Conference the Social Democratic Party (of Great Britain) passed a resolution in favor of "maintaining an 'adequate' navy. This resolution was obviously the result of the long campaign waged by comrades "Hyndman, Blatchford and certain others. Immediately after the Conference it was seen that the action of the Conference was unpopular with party members. There were numerous resignations from the party as a result of it. Finally a referendum was taken on what has come to be known as the Hackney Resolution, and the action of the Conference was definitely reversed. "The S. D. P. is now on record in favor of the international solidarity of the working class."

A more disgraceful series of misrepresentations than this I have never seen even in the most virulent pacifist organ, and that is saying a very great deal. I never entered upon any campaign in favor of an "adequate" navy. I stated at a time when the British government was reducing our navy that such a course was calculated to provoke war and not to check it, and I did state at that time, and I do now, that a powerful navy for this country is an absolute necessity and stands upon precisely the same basis as a National Citizen Army for Continental powers, which has been voted at International Congress after International Congress. Since I wrote the two letters to which I refer—do two letters constitute a "campaign"?—Mr. Lloyd George, the principal pacifist in the British government, has come round entirely to my opinion, and the Labor Party in the House of Commons actually voted in my sense!!

The action of the Conference was not "definitely reversed," nor could it be by such a very small number of branches as those which took part in the ballot. The position is precisely that which it was, and I stand precisely where I did.

The absurdity of stating that the Social Democratic Party of this Island, which, for more than thirty years has distinguished itself among all the Socialist Parties of the world by its action in an international sense is obvious. That we should be told that the Party "is now on record in favor of the international solidarity of the working class," is therefore a combination of ignorance with insult, upon which I cannot congratulate your contributor.

As a matter of fact, the Social Democratic Party of this country had more to do with the establishment of the International Bureau than any other, and in that work I am proud to say, as would be freely acknowledged by all comrades who know anything about it, I was more active than anybody else. More than this, I can, and I do, claim that there is no man living who has done so much to oppose English imperialism and militarism, in India, in Egypt, in Ireland, in South Africa, and elsewhere as I have.

When also matters became serious between Germany and France and England, owing to the

persistent jack-bootery and brutality of the Prussian clique that dominates German foreign affairs, I, being then a member of the International Socialist Bureau, two or three times in succession strongly urged on behalf of the English Social-Democrats that the International Socialist Bureau should call a special meeting of the Socialists of the three countries involved, in order that the whole position might be discussed and that terms of understanding and agreement should be formulated between England and Germany and Germany and France, the agreement between England and France happily having been already established. The delegates who opposed this suggestion, and have opposed it to this day, were and are the delegates of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. All this is on record. To write to me, therefore, as if I were a Chauvinist is—but I have said enough.

Yours fraternally,

H. M. HYNDMAN.

P. S.—Should you not see your way to publish this letter textually as I have written it, I shall, of course, take care that it has at least an equal circulation in the United States to that which it could secure if printed in your columns. The only resignations from the S. D. P. so far amount to two—Green, the Secretary of the Peace Society, and Burrows, who, after his unfortunate defeat at Haggerston, had ceased to be active in our organization.

H. M. H.

London, September 18th, 1911.

THE REVIEW takes real pleasure in publishing the above letter from Comrade Hyndman. No better confirmation could be given of the statements made in our September number. Comrade Hyndman here definitely states over his signature that he favors a "powerful" navy and that he has written in support of the maintenance of such a navy. In this matter, he says, he agrees with Lloyd-George. His position is, then, in direct opposition to that of the international Socialist movement as declared in a formal resolution at Copenhagen. Obviously, too, the resolution adopted at the Easter conference is not in accord with the attitude of the international movement. Comrade Hyndman does not, of course, deny that the Hackney Resolution is in accord with the one passed at Copenhagen or that it was passed by a referendum vote of the Social Democratic Party. Comrade Hyndman's personal services to the cause of Socialism formed no part of the matter under discussion.

W. E. B.

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From Steve Flanagan.—I do not doubt a word of anything Russell says about Australia or New Zealand and am proud that he has had the courage to say what he did, in the way he did, and hope that he will give us some more of the same thing; but his opening positive unqualified statement that "A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within" I feel that I cannot understand. I would not say that he is incorrect, but my opinion is that the statement is too broad.

If he be correct, then a revolution should immediately take place within the Socialist party. We must not forget our purpose as a party. Personally I am not satisfied with the methods of our party. Politics to me is a capitalist invention for robbery purposes and cannot be used to accomplish our complete purposes, but I think our own people in public offices could keep the injunction, the policeman's club and the cossack off the working class when we are in a struggle for more pay, and would be a mighty big help if the workers decided to take charge of the industries by force.

There is a great possibility of Socialists of this city (New Castle) taking charge of the administration here this fall. If I am any judge of the kind of an administration that would result, there would be nothing done that could be considered compromising, or playing the other fellow's game. It is my opinion that things would be done that would shock some Socialists in many parts of the country and these same things might result in the impeachment of the administration. I think we would go the limit, in the hopes that we would at least set an example to be taken up everywhere that would concentrate the chief purpose of a revolutionary party on the minds of all.

Lake's Inn, Alta., Can.—Received 17 REVIEWS on Saturday, 2:30 p. m. All sold same afternoon while attending to my other business. Send same number at once. A. O. A.

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## How It Cures

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COOPER, TEX.—Rheumatism left me almost a wreck. My limbs and body were swollen terribly and I was so nervous and weak I could not stand to do any kind of work, nor did I seem to get any better. I learned about Bod-Tone and sent for a box to try. The swelling began to leave my body within a short time after I began its use and the nervousness and weakness gradually disappeared. I could ride and plow all day before I had used two boxes, and do all of my work about the place without feeling the least worried. I feel like a different man since using it. W. N. ROGERS.

GYPSUM, KAS.—When I sent for Bod-Tone I suffered severely and had no relief for two years. The doctor said my liver was enlarged. I also had Female Trouble, which was very bad. My doctor said if I did not quit work I would need an operation. I was so nervous I could not sleep at night and could not settle myself to work at any one thing but a short time. I had no appetite; in fact, I was in such misery I cared very little whether I lived or died. I had taken Bod-Tone but a short time when my terrible backache all left me and the distressing bloating in my stomach disappeared. Then my troubles all seemed to leave me at once. I could sleep like a babe and work all day and never feel tired. EFFIE E. DUEBLISS.

**Bodi-Tone Company, Dept S, Chicago, Ills.**

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Mechano-Therapy is the art, or science, of treating disease without drugs. It is similar to Osteopathy, but far superior, being the latest, up-to-date method of treating disease by the Natural Method. It heals as Nature heals—in accordance with Nature's laws.

The Mechano-Therapist is a drugless physician and bloodless surgeon. His medicines are not drugs, but scientific combinations of food, circumstance, idea, water and motion.

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Have you asked yourself this question? We answer, unquestionably, YES.

If you have a good common, ordinary, common school education, you can learn.

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Now does this require years of patient study to learn Mechano-Therapy—we can teach you in a very short time, so that you may enter this profession—and when you do, you begin to make money. No text books are required, beyond those furnished by us. We supply all lessons and necessary text books free of cost to you. No apparatus is used. You do not even need a place to work. All you require is your two hands.

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Statements of our graduates below verify every claim we make. What these men and women have done you may do. We do not give addresses of people whose testimonials we print. If you are interested we furnish them on request.

#### I Make \$10 to \$15 Per Day and Work Seven Days a Week

Dr. W. F. Leslie, M. D., writes: I am making from \$10 to \$15 a day and work seven days a week. I am busy all the time.

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